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DOCUMENTARY

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MAINE.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING A

DISCOURSE ON WESTERN PLANTING,

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1584,

BY RICHARD HAKLUYT.

With a Preface and an Introduction

BY LEONARD WOODS, LL.D.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

EDITED, WITH NOTES IN THE APPENDIX,

BY CHARLES DEANE.

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NOTE OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

THE Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society are happy, after so long delay, to offer to its members and friends this second volume of the series of "Documentary History," under the generous auspices of the State. Though an annual volume was contemplated by the resolve of the Legislature, it soon became apparent that so frequent an issue could not be kept up with credit to the State or the Society. The long interval since the first volume appeared, however, has been occasioned not only by the labor necessarily connected with the work in hand, but mainly by the disastrous fire which destroyed the library of Dr. Woods and several rare volumes besides essential to the prosecution of his work as editor, as also what he had prepared as an Introduction to the Discourse of Hakluyt which was waiting only for his final revision for the press. Then followed the serious disarrangement caused by the calamity; and, after he had begun the unwelcome effort of recovering what had been lost, the physical infirmity which forbade literary labor, and, indeed, threatened the entire loss of the fruits of his diligent and successful research. In this emergency, the Committee, under advice from Dr. Woods himself, were greatly relieved by being able to make an arrangement as set forth in the following paper from their records:

“Whereas, Dr. Charles Deane and Dr. Leonard Woods have been jointly engaged for some months in preparing for publication, for the Maine Historical Society, a Discourse of Richard Hakluyt; and whereas, under their superintendence, the stereotyping of said work is completed, and some advance has been made towards preparing Notes and an Introduction for the same, which are not completed in consequence of the impaired state of Dr. Woods’s health, — therefore *voted*, that Dr. Deane be requested by the Standing Committee to assume the sole charge of the publication of this work, to finish what has been begun, and to write *de novo* what remains to be written, all on the same plan as has been entered upon by them, and thus far been so harmoniously and satisfactorily pursued.”

The well-known accomplishments of Mr. Deane, and his special familiarity with the topics suggested by the matter in hand, justify the Committee in congratulating the Society, the State, and all who have been anticipating so interesting an accession to our material of historical facts and discourses, on this fortunate arrangement.

It is well known that other European powers preceded the English in enterprises of discovery and colonization towards the Western Continent. But during the reign of Elizabeth, the impulse in this direction was surprisingly developed in the English nation. As is remarked by Froude : “When the history of this era is written, its grandeur will be seen to be among the most sublime phenomena which the earth as yet has witnessed.” The energy of statesmen and of the commercial class was turned towards the sea, and the memories of adventurous and heroic seamen are perpetuated in arctic and other regions.

A recent English writer, referring to earlier and later adventurers in arctic exploration, pronounces it, “our Iliad,

if we have one, this siege of the arctic ice and night." Expeditions set on foot by private individuals or corporations were to some extent patronized by royalty and by such names as Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham. As Frobisher, a poor sailor adventurer, as some one calls him, was under way for Northern seas and was running by Greenwich, he was encouraged by seeing the Queen wave her handkerchief from the palace windows, in token of the favor and patronage vouchsafed by her Majesty to her enterprising subjects who had the means to furnish ships, or the ability and spirit to command them, and to go out into unknown seas to discover or conquer and take possession in the name of their gracious sovereign whom they loved to call "Queen of the Sea."

One of the most interesting spectacles revealed by history is the earnest rivalry between the governments of Europe and their parties of discovery or colonization, ever watchful of each others' projects, and carefully keeping their own counsels, in efforts to acquire and secure possession of the newly discovered continent. To us it is of special interest to trace the series of events and adventures which directed English enterprise to the northern coast of the continent, contrary even to their own plans and purposes, thus affording an illustration of the familiar saying, "Man proposes, but God disposes." For it is a well-known fact that in eager and persistent and fruitless schemes for discovery of a north-west route to the far-off Cathay, and after manifold hindrances, misadventures, and disasters, this northern coast was revealed to daring English voyagers. A paper drawn up by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to prove the possibility, rather the probability, of such a passage, first turned the attention of the English and stimulated afresh the enterprise in that direction. Then followed the voyages of the intrepid Frobisher,

1576, who left a perpetual memorial of his adventurous spirit in the straits that bear his name ; and those of Sir Humphrey himself, who, aided by the active interest of Sir Walter Raleigh, his half-brother, set sail in 1583, the Queen wishing him "as great goodhap and safety to his ship as if herself were there in person." We cannot but recall his memorable answer from his little craft of ten tons, which soon went down, in a tempestuous sea off Newfoundland, to the hail of his companion, the "Golden Hind," — "We are as near Heaven by sea as by land." Thus the spirit of enterprise kept at work on the problem of a North-west Passage. But that was not the path which Providence designed.

The search for a North-west Passage to the Indies was arrested for a time, we know, by the conjecture that a better route could be found in an opposite direction. It has been a problem with students of history what turned back attention to our coast.

The five volumes of the industrious and enthusiastic Hakluyt, containing notices of more than two hundred voyages, called by Froude the "prose epic of the modern English nation," have been a most valued storehouse of materials for the history of early discovery and colonization. The fortunate discovery of a lost manuscript of the same author, now first committed to the press, shows what may have exerted an important influence in awakening special attention of royalty and courtiers to the northern coast as a desirable field for colonization, and setting on foot a movement which, under Divine Providence, was to produce great results in human history and the progress of the races.

The text alone of such a Discourse would excite great interest in all who are curious regarding the earliest attempts to colonize this portion of the Western Continent. It seemed, however, unfitting to send out such a

paper without an introductory notice and such annotations as seemed to be required to explain allusions and elucidate obscure passages in the history of the period, not likely to be apprehended except by those who have given special attention to the subject, and to afford to every reader the best advantage for entering at once into the spirit of the writer.

A. S. PACKARD,

For the Committee.

BRUNSWICK, March, 1877.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

REFERRING to the preceding statement of the Standing Committee, I will simply add, in justice to Dr. Woods and to myself, that, out of his rough notes, happily not consumed when his library was burned, 8th August, 1873, I have deduced the following Preface and Introduction signed by him. These notes were written in several memorandum books, and on detached sheets of paper, intended evidently as hints to the memory for future use, and covered a wide field of investigation. What has been here written is mostly in his own language; and all has been submitted to him, and approved and adopted by him.

I can only add my regret, to that of the literary public, that the state of his health had deprived Dr. Woods of the opportunity of employing again his own eloquent pen in reconstructing the fabric so mercilessly destroyed by the flames.

Of the notes in the Appendix, the few signed "W." were written by Dr. Woods, and happened to be in my possession, along with the copy of the Hakluyt Discourse, when the fire occurred. The Discourse had already been stereotyped in Cambridge, under my supervision. Some of my own notes in the Appendix had been partially written, at the request of Dr. Woods, and had been laid aside.

I have appreciated the wish of the Maine Historical Society to publish this volume with as little delay as

possible ; and for the past few months, since I have been requested to undertake the charge of it, have labored to that end. Part of my work has been of a delicate nature ; and for the whole I ask the indulgence of the reader, being conscious of its imperfections. I will only add, in conclusion, that I feel a sense of satisfaction in placing my own name on the title-page of this volume along with that of my friend, Dr. Woods.

CHARLES DEANE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.,
March, 1877.

P R E F A C E.

It may not be without interest that I should give, in this prefatory note, in some detail, an account as to how this copy of Hakluyt's Discourse was obtained; and then a brief description of the manuscript itself. See also the Introduction, p. xxv.

I will premise by saying, in a general way, that it happened to me as it has to so many other investigators. The manuscript, having come into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, was placed in the archives of his vast collection at Middle Hill, Worcestershire, — subsequently removed to Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, — and had remained buried for thirteen or fourteen years. Meanwhile, the following title had appeared in the printed catalogue¹ of his collection, a copy of which had been

¹ Sir Thomas Phillipps's Catalogue appears to have been issued in folio sheets, struck off from time to time. The title-page reads, "Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomæ Phillipps, Bart. A.D. 1837. Impressus Typis Medio-Montanis Mense Maio, 1837." A copy was presented by him to the library of Harvard College, June 1, 1841, the sheets stitched and covered with blue boards, and containing all that had probably been printed up to that time, being 174 pp., the last number 10710. The subsequent issues of the Catalogue have not been sent to the library.

Sir Thomas Phillipps had a private press at Middle Hill, on which he printed a large number of books edited by himself. A list of many of them

presented by him to the library of the British Museum, — “A Hakluyt Discourse,” number “14097.” So far as I can learn this advertisement had remained unnoticed.

My attention had early been called to the collection of Sir Thomas by seeing an account, in the Proceedings of some Scientific Association, of a number of early American maps exhibited by him at one of its meetings; and on inquiring of Mr. Henry Stevens about this collection, he informed me that, besides these maps and other valuable documents, it contained a manuscript discourse of Hakluyt which had once been in his possession.¹ But this important information, which was communicated to me by Mr. Stevens with that freedom and friendliness with which he has always given of his treasures to those who have applied to him, was not the moving cause or the immediate occasion of the measures by which the manuscript in question was obtained. And I fear

may be seen in Bohn's edition of Lowndes, under Sir Thomas's name. After the death, in 1859, of Lord Northwick, the proprietor of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, Sir Thomas became the owner of that estate, and removed to it his valuable and extensive library from Middle Hill. Thirlestane House was erected by Mr. Scott, at an outlay of £84,000, in the Ionic style, with Portland and Bath stone. (See Murray's *Hand-book of Gloucestershire*.) Sir Thomas himself died in 1872, and left his library to his daughter, Mrs. Fenwick, its present owner. — ED.

¹ The manuscript appears to have come into the possession of Mr. Stevens some time previous to May, 1854. It is included in his catalogue — a copy of which is now before me — of valuable books and manuscripts to be sold at auction by Puttick & Simpson, 191 Piccadilly, London, “on Wednesday, May 24, 1854, and four following days (Sunday excepted), at one o'clock most punctually,” and is entered there under number “474.” The title-page is copied in full, after which we read: —

“A MOST IMPORTANT UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT; 63 pages, closely and neatly written; *in the original calf binding*. From Lord Valentia's Collection. The following note, pencilled on the fly-leaf, is believed to be in Lord

that the knowledge I had received from him of the existence of this manuscript would have proved to me, as it had in several other cases, barren and unfruitful of any good result, if a new motive for seeking access to the Phillipps collection had not been imparted to me some weeks later from another quarter.

During a visit which I made to H. C. Harford, Esq., of Bristol, soon after New Year's, 1868, in pursuit of whatever might fall in my way, I made the acquaintance of the Rev. Frederick Brown, then rector of the neighboring parish of Nailsea. This parish belongs to the manor of Ashton Phillips, where Sir Ferdinando Gorges resided during the latter part of his life, and the rector had interested himself for many years in collecting materials for a complete history and genealogy of this distinguished founder of the colonization of our State. These materials he kindly exhibited to me, and among other things called my attention to a notice he had seen in the *Wiltshire Magazine of Archæology and Natural History*, Vol. I. p. 97, to the effect that the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges had been obtained by Sir

Valentia's hand: 'This unpublished manuscript of Hakluyt's is extremely curious. I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thomson. The editors of the last edition would have given any money for it, had it been known to have existed.' In a printed list of "prices obtained at the sale" of these books as far as lot 1039, subsequently inserted in some copies of the catalogue, it appears that the Hakluyt Discourse, lot 474, brought £44.

This was not the only manuscript in this sale of rare books relating to America which came from Lord Valentia's collection. Lot 408, "Captain Luke Fox's Journal," is said to have belonged to his library. There may have been others. — ED.

Thomas Phillipps from Ashley, and were now in his possession, bearing the number 7109 in his collection.

The Gorges Papers, justly regarded as more important than any now remaining to be discovered for the elucidation of the history of New England, and especially of Maine, were then, as it appeared, neither irrecoverably lost, nor left, according to the supposition of Dr. Palfrey, "undreamed of by their possessor, to feed the moth in the garret of some manor-house in Somerset or Devon, or in some crypt of London," but could be clearly traced to the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

I conceived the confident hope of gaining access to these papers, and resolved that no efforts of mine should be wanting to accomplish this object. It only remained for me to follow the clew thus placed in my hands to find the way to this great depository, and to solicit from the generosity of its owner the use of the papers for the State most interested in them.

In pursuance of this purpose, immediately on my return to London, I called for advice on the late John Bruce, Esq., F.R.S., who had been mentioned to me by my friend, the excellent rector of Nailsea, as a correspondent of his on the subject of Gorges, and who was already known to me as the author of the interesting letter on the defence of Gorges, published in Vol. XXXIII. of the *Archæologia*, and republished at the end of Mr. George Folsom's Catalogue of Original Documents relating to the State of Maine, New York, 1858.

By the judicious and friendly advice of Mr. Bruce, I was directed to Mrs. Mary Anne Everett Green, well known as the editor of a number of the Calendars of State Papers, as a lady well acquainted with Sir Thomas Phillipps and his collection, and holding a high place in his esteem, and as better able to assist me in my purpose than any one in the circle of his acquaintance. On his suggestion, I introduced myself to Mrs. Green and made my objects known to her; and to the interest which she took in them, and her assistance in accomplishing them, and the influence she exerted in our behalf with Sir Thomas Phillipps, the Historical Society and the literary public generally are indebted for whatever benefit may be derived from the opening of his collections to our use.

Mrs. Green wrote immediately to Sir Thomas; and, on his courteous response to her request in our behalf, she visited Cheltenham (in January, 1868). I followed in a few days.

The original object we had in view in this visit to Cheltenham, nearly one hundred miles from London, in mid-winter, was to examine the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to obtain, if possible, copies of them for publication in the Documentary History of Maine. But our quest was not confined to the Gorges Papers. In order to facilitate the business of this visit, and turn it to the best possible account, Mrs. Green had made, from her catalogue of the collection, a list of all manuscripts which it was thought might have some bearing on the history

of Maine, and which in that visit might well be examined in this behalf. In this list was included, besides the Gorges Papers advertised in the Wiltshire Magazine, and the maps before referred to, "A Hakluyt Discourse," No. "14097," which could, we thought, be no other than that mentioned by my friend Mr. Stevens, and against which she wrote, on my suggestion, "Copy entire, if relating to colonization in America."

Before my arrival, Mrs. Green had already made considerable progress in the examination of the manuscripts, maps, &c. ; and her report of her first impressions, so far as related to the principal object of our pursuit, was, in her own words : "The Gorges Papers turn out a sad disappointment ; on the other hand, the Hakluyt Discourse is, I think, curious and valuable."

These first impressions were confirmed by the more careful examinations upon which we entered after my arrival. The Gorges Papers, No. 7109, entered in the catalogue as "Papers found in the Library of Ferdinando Gorges, of Ashley, Wilts, *fol.*," were found to consist of a few private letters about family property, in which a brief pedigree of Lord Edward Gorges was included. The disappointment with regard to these papers was in some degree qualified by some information kindly given me by Sir Thomas, with regard to the disposition of them on the breaking up of the collection at Ashley. But, after following up the clew which he placed in my hands, it led to no important results ; and we are

obliged to rest in the conclusion expressed above by Dr. Palfrey.

But the Hakluyt Discourse, about which we had been doubtful whether it related to American colonization, and which I had apprehended might be one of the Discourses supposed to have been delivered by Hakluyt on the art of navigation, proved to be a treatise exhibiting, systematically and elaborately, the religious, political, and commercial advantages to be derived by England from the attempted colonization of America; and, what gave it a peculiar interest to the Maine Historical Society, having special reference from the beginning to the end to the colonization of Norumbega.

It required no extended examination for me to decide that it was a document most desirable to be copied and published in our Collections; and it required no labored persuasions to induce Sir Thomas to grant my request for that privilege. He courteously allowed a copyist to be sent, and a copy to be made for our use; and at the same time represented that it was for such service alone to the cause of truth that he was led to form his collection.

Under this kind permission, a copy of the table of contents or heads of the several chapters was made by Mrs. Green at the time, on the spot, and proved of great advantage in identifying the manuscript.

For various reasons, the entire copy was not made until several months later; and having been myself absent at the time on the continent, it did not come into my control until just before my return home.

It was made by Mr. G. W. Thompson, a clerk of the Public Record Office, and was pronounced by Mrs. Green as admirably done. Tracings of the original handwriting were made by him, and the abbreviations of the manuscript were retained in the copy. The spelling of the original, by no means uniform, and also the punctuation, are strictly followed; and, having been collated page by page with the original at the time it was written, it may be relied on as literally faithful.

The manuscript is written in a contemporaneous hand, though it is believed not in that of its author. A *fac-simile* of the title-page is given. The book consists of sixty-five pages in folio. It is sixteen and one-half inches long, and a little over eleven and one-half wide, and one-half inch thick. The written page is fourteen inches long, and eight and one-half wide, with a margin on the left of two inches for notes. The commencement of all fresh paragraphs is in a large *old English* hand. There are two numbers upon the back; viz., “474,” the number against which it is entered in Puttick & Simpson’s sale catalogue of May, 1854 (see page xvi. *note*), and “14097,” its number in Sir Thomas Phillipps’s catalogue. The following memoranda are written in pencil on the second blank leaf:—

“This unpublished Manuscript of Hackluyt’s is extremely curious.

“I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thomson.

“The editors of the last edition would have given any money for it, had it been known to have existed.”

These memoranda are believed to be in the handwriting of Lord Valentia, at the sale of whose collection it was purchased by Mr. Henry Stevens, of London. From him it passed to the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, through the auction sale of Messrs. Puttick & Simpson, of London, in May, 1854, for £44. The "last edition," referred to in the concluding pencil memorandum, must be that of Hakluyt's Collection, in five volumes, 1809-12, of which R. H. Evans was the editor.

In Mr. Stevens's Historical and Geographical Notes, published in 1869, p. 20, he says of this Discourse: "This valuable manuscript . . . was in the possession of the writer for two or three years, having fallen into his hands some sixteen or seventeen years ago by a piece of good luck, after a bibliographical tournament memorable as any recorded by Dibdin. After fruitless endeavors to find for it a resting place in some public or private library in America, and subsequently in the British Museum, it finally became the property of Sir Thomas Phillipps."

The earliest notice of the existence of this manuscript, after it had been lost sight of for nearly two centuries, is in the family of Sir Peter Thomson,¹

¹ Sir Peter Thomson, or Thompson, was a great collector of rare books, manuscripts, fossils, and other literary curiosities. He lived for many years in Bermondsey, County Surrey; but in 1763 he wholly retired to the place of his birth, at Poole, County Dorset, where he died in 1770, bequeathing his valuable library to a kinsman bearing his name. Part of it soon after came to the hammer; and the sale of the remainder, described as "The Library of Sir Peter Thompson, Knt., F.R.S., and F.S.A., containing many curious and scarce articles in old English Literature, MSS., and rare Books," took place at Evans's, 29th April, 1815, and the four following days. Lowndes frequently gives the prices at which some of the books were sold. See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, V. 511-514, IX. 800, 801. — ED.

from whom, if the above conjecture as to the author of the pencil memoranda is correct, it passed to Lord Valentia. From whom it came into the hands of Sir Peter Thomson is not known. Some clew may yet be furnished. The family of Lord Valencia belongs to Ireland.

It should be added that the copy of this Discourse has been strictly followed in every essential particular, in the printing. In a few instances, some liberties have been taken with the capital letters, and a point has been added or omitted in accordance with the author's general style of punctuation, or where the sense required the alteration. Some abbreviated words have been printed according to modern usage, when the spelling conformed to the usage of Hakluyt's time. The citations of the author from native or foreign writers have been compared in every instance wherever the editions or versions used by him have been accessible, and any required corrections made. The running-title in the printed volume has been added by the editor.

LEONARD WOODS.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER I had made my arrangements, early in the summer of 1867, to spend a few months in foreign travel, I had the honor to receive from the Governor of Maine a commission, in pursuance of the Resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, authorizing me to procure materials from the foreign archives, libraries, and collections, for the early history of the State. This commission was accompanied by a circular letter from the Department of State at Washington, commending the object to the favor of those to whom it might be presented.

In discharging this commission, my first care was to obtain materials illustrating the discovery of the coast of Maine, and more particularly to obtain copies of the original maps and charts in which this discovery is progressively delineated. And here it was my good fortune to engage for the Society the service of one who was already prepared to render it by his extended researches and large collections, and who had already been employed by our government in a kindred labor. The result is seen in the first volume of the Documentary History of our State, published by this Society in 1869.

Another fruit of my visit to England was the following Discourse of Richard Hakluyt on the colonization of Norumbega. I have already stated, in a prefatory note, that the manuscript from which our copy was made belonged to the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, and was preserved in his noble collection in Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, England; and that, by his generosity and courtesy, the Maine Historical Society is now enabled to publish it for the first time, nearly three hundred years after it was written.

At the date of the Discourse, the memorable year 1584, the English, after a long slumber, were just beginning to awake to a sense of the value of these "Western Discoveries," and of the importance of occupying them with people of their own race. In the second patent granted to John Cabot, in 1498, permission was given him to transport English subjects to the "Londe and Isles of late founde" by him; but no settlement was then effected. And from that time, during a period of eighty years, none had been seriously attempted, until the enterprise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the complete failure of which had been ascertained only within a few months.

This failure of the English to take actual possession by colonization of the countries of the New World first discovered by them, and still unoccupied by any Christian nation, has been regarded as a perplexing problem by many writers, even by those who have not lived to see, in the subsequent grandeur of their colonial empire, that it was rather a fault than a misfortune.

In "The Epistle Dedicatorie" to the "Divers Voyages," published in 1582, near the close of this long period of inaction, Richard Hakluyt wrote as follows: "I marvaile not a little, that since the first discouerie of America, which is nowe full fourscore and tenne yeers, after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portingales there, that wee of England could neuer haue the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places as are left as yet vnpossessed of them." Could he have foreseen the colonizing energy which has since been so eminently displayed by the English race, he would only have wondered the more that it remained so long latent, and that the power, which soon proved itself easily capable of overmastering all its competitors for the possession of the Continent, was so slow to enter the lists.

It is represented in several of the biographies of Sir Walter Raleigh, and also in some of the general histories of his time, that when, after the failure of his step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, he undertook the work of planting a colony in North America, he drew up and presented to the Queen and Council a certain discourse, or memorial, in aid of that enterprise, and that by this means he obtained the grant of his first Letters Patent.¹

In these several statements, this memorial, or discourse, is said to have been drawn up and written by

¹ See Oldys's and Birch's *Lives of Raleigh*, in Vol. I. pp. 50, 580, Works, Oxford, 1829; Mrs. Thomson's *Memoirs of Raleigh*, p. 39; St. John's *Life of Raleigh*, p. 85. Compare Napier in *Edinburgh Rev.*, Vol. LXXI. pp. 9-11.

Raleigh himself, and presented by him before his patent was granted.

But, whatever this memorial may have been, it was not the identical Discourse with which we are now concerned. That bears unquestionable evidence throughout its pages of having been written by Hakluyt, by request and direction of Mr. Walter Raleigh, and before the return, and of course after the sailing, of the two barks sent out by him under the patent. As neither of these discourses was known at that time to be in existence, possibly they may have been confounded the one with the other. But, without taking notice of this possibility, it will appear not improbable, from evidence hereafter to be adduced, that this memorial, drawn up and ascribed to Raleigh, received a helping hand from Hakluyt, and furnished the germ of the Discourse written by the latter after the patent had been granted.

As I have already said, the memorial is described to have been written and presented before the patent was issued to Raleigh, 25th March, 1584. The Discourse purports, on its title-page, to have been written before the return of the two barks which had been sent out by Raleigh under that patent; that is, between the 27th April and the middle of September. It was written in London, and from several passages in its contents appears to have been in hand as late as after the month of August, 1584. Again, the memorial, or such part of it as may have been contributed by Hakluyt, must have been written in Paris, since Hakluyt had gone there the previous

year as chaplain, and he is known by his letters to have been there as late as 1st April, 1584.

In the year 1583, Hakluyt, then thirty years old, had gone to Paris as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford. He had intended to join the last and fatal expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which sailed in June of that year. It was, however, probably thought that his services would be more valuable to the cause of Western discoveries and colonization, to which he had devoted himself from his boyhood, in the post of observation and influence to which he was appointed. If such an opinion had been entertained, it was fully justified by the service rendered by him in his new position. Two letters of his, written to Secretary Walsingham during the first year of his residence in Paris, were contributed by Mr. Payne Collier to the Society of Antiquaries in 1850, and printed for the first time in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 287–291, and reprinted by Mr. John Winter Jones in his Introduction to his edition of Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages"; but the originals have since been indicated in the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Eliz. Vol. CLXVII., No. 7, and Vol. CLXX., No. 1. From these letters, dated 7th January and 1st April, 1584, it appears that it was the expectation of the Secretary that Hakluyt should make "diligent inquirie of such thinges as may yeeld any light unto our westerne discoverie"; and that, on his part, he "nether has, nor will omitte any possible diligence," in collecting information of the Spanish and French movements, and in recommending measures for the

furtherance of the cause, — such as the establishment of a Lectureship on Navigation, and offering himself to go now in “this present setting forth,” as he had in the previous year; and, in general, to employ all his simple observations, reading, and conference in the service of God and his country.

In all this, however, his relations appear to be with Secretary Walsingham, or, in his illness, with his step-son, Christopher Carlyle, or his son-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney; and there is as yet no mention of his having any connection with Raleigh, or of his having written any thing in aid of his enterprise, though it was already on foot at the time these letters were written.

Indeed, no positive evidence has been hitherto accessible, so far as I am aware, of Sir Walter Raleigh’s being beholden to Hakluyt for any services in aid of his Western discovery and voyage; certainly for any so valuable as contributions, either memorial or discourse, in that behalf. The first indication hitherto known even of any honorable acknowledgment of Raleigh’s services in the Western discoveries, on the part of Hakluyt, is that found in his Dedication to Raleigh, 1st May, 1587, of his translation of Laudonnière’s History of the Florida Settlement. His “*Divers Voyages*,” published in 1582, was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and contains no mention of Sir Walter Raleigh. In these two interesting letters written from Paris, he represents himself as expected to supply information to Walsingham and Carlyle, and as sparing no pains in sending them whatever

might be useful. But there is no mention of his having rendered a similar service to Raleigh, or of his having stood in any relation to him whatever. There is certainly a probability that the great actor in this enterprise of Western discovery would have looked to the diligent student for instruction and information, but this probability has not been hitherto supported by a scrap of historical evidence.

On the first coming to light of this Discourse, the claim on its title-page, to have been written in London, by Richard Hakluyt, in the summer of 1584, at the request and direction of Mr. Walter Raleigh, could not be substantiated by any authority, after a diligent search by myself and others, with the best possible opportunity for finding whatever might exist.

But in a letter written 7th April, 1585, now for the first time published, we have clear and unexpected evidence from the pen of Hakluyt himself, not only of his being occupied in his position at the embassy in sending Raleigh information, and printed and written discourses respecting his voyage, but of his having written for him a Discourse, corresponding in its objects, time, and other circumstances with the manuscript which has come into our possession. This letter was found, soon after this Discourse came into my hands, among the State Papers, by Mrs. Green, while looking for documents for the Addenda to the Calendar of the reign of Elizabeth; and, seeing at a glance the conclusive evidence furnished by it for the elucidation of our inquiries, she kindly sent me a copy of it in advance of its publication in her Calen-

dar. It is printed below, and a *fac-simile* of the first page of the original manuscript is given in the Appendix.¹

¹ *Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham.*

Public Record Office. Dom. Eliz. Addenda. Vol. XXIX. No. 9.

Yo^r Honor's goodness extended diverse wayes unto mee at my being in England the last somer, doth much encourage mee at this present to crave yo^r favour in a matter more then reasonable. Y^e pleased her Ma^{tie} twoe dayes before my dispatch, upon the sight of a couple of books of myne in writinge, one in latine upon Aristotle's politicks, the other in english concerning M^r. Rawley's voyage (the copie whereof I purpose to send yo^r honor immediately after Ester) to grant mee the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol, wch is a thinge of very small valewe. The words of my graunt are, that I shold enjoy yt next, whether yt be by death, vacation, resignation, or any other way howsoever. And yet since my cominge out of England I am advertised that one Mr. Sanders, a prebend of that place, ether hath or meaneth to resigne his roome to another, wch if yt be not hindered by yo^r honor's favour, my reversion wil not be worth the money that the seales did stand mee in, for if these resignations be permitted, I may be these sevne and sevne yeares before I shal be placed. Therefore I am humbly to beseech yo^r honor that yo wold not suffer my grante to be frustrated by any such dealing. How careful I have bin to advertise S^r Walter Rawley from tyme to tyme, and to send him discourses, both in printe and written hand, concerninge his voyage, I had rather you shold understand of him then of myselfe. I was loath to trouble yo^r honor wth those by matters consideringe the busines of the tymes. And to medle in other matters that appertayne not unto mee without commission, I cold not tel howe y^e wold have bin taken. Notwithstanding since these newe Grisons tumults, I have bin more vigilant and careful to seeke howe things goe then heretofore, and what I can lerne amonge them of the religion I alwayes bring unto my lord, wch can judge of reports, and advertise y^{ou} of the truth. One thing I note, that the Spanish ambassadour, the Pope's nuncio, and the Jesuits, if any thinge fal out in any parte of Christendome on their side, they blase yt abroade by their swarmes of spies, to the uttermost in every corner. And if matter fayle them, they cease not every second day to coyne newe rumors and false bruits, wch, notwithstanding, they be most untrue and vayne, yet I find by experience that they worke very great and strange effects. On the other side if any thinge fal out against them, they seeke a thousand devises and shifts to suppress yt. As they covered conningly a good while their overthrowe in Februarie last amonge the Grisons: and nowe of late wth terrible othes they deny their defeyt upon the river of Andwerpe; wch we cannot urge soe farr foorth as we wold, unlesse wee had certayne advertisement thereof out of England. Notwithstanding I have bin advertised by men of good intelligence that whereas the Prince of Parma had purposed to have ayded

The chaplain of the embassy, not content with keeping Walsingham, Carlyle, and Sidney well informed regarding the Western enterprises, had also been careful, I repeat, to advertise Sir Walter Raleigh from time to time, and to send him discourses, both printed and written, concerning his voyage. As these are spoken of as sent from Paris, and not furnished in London, they may have been contributions of Hakluyt to the memorial above referred to, by means of which Raleigh's patent was procured.

It appears also by this letter that "two dayes before

Guise with fifteen hundred footemen and three hundred Albaneses Horsemen, upon these newe accidents at Ostend and on the river, he hath been constraigned to send a countermaund to stay them at home; wch matter of Andwerpe if yt be wel followed wil frustrate Guise of his forces that he hoped for out of the Lowe countreys and constraayne him and his faction to surcease his troubling of them of the religion, and to growe more willingly to composition with the King. Yt was told mee in secret that the King had sent by Marseilles a messenger to Constantinople within lesse than this moneth. Yo^r honor may gesse why wee hear that here is looked for shortly a legate from Rome. I wold have sent yo^r honor diverse Pamphlets both in writing and printed but that I knowe Mr. Wade hath them al for yo^r Honor. Therefore for the present I surcease, beseeching the Almightye to blesse and prosper yo^r. Paris the 7th of April 85, yo^r honor's humble to command.

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

The rumor of S^r Walter Rawle's Fleet, and especially the preparation of S^r Francis Drake, doth soe much vex the Spaniard and his fautors as nothing can doe more; and therefore I cold wysh that although S^r Francis Drake's journey be stayed, yet the rumor of his setting forward might be continued. They have sent some to enquire of that action in conning manner of my Lord himself, as he told me.

They have given out here within these three dayes even in the French Courte, that diverse my Lords in England were up in armes, and the Catholicks with them, and that they had taken an Iland yea Creith, yo^r man was diverse tymes demanded thereof.

[Addressed]

To the right honorable
S^r Francis Walsingham
principal Secretarie to
her Ma^{ty} give these
at the Courte.

[Endorsed]

7 April.

From M. Hackluyt.

his dispatch," — that is, before his return to Paris, evidently in the early part of the autumn of 1584, — he exhibited to the Queen a manuscript book in English concerning "Mr. Rawley's voyage," — a book thus agreeing with the purport of the title-page of our Discourse to have been written before the return of the two barks, which happened about the middle of September, and with the evidence within its pages that it was still in hand after August of that year.

It will perhaps be considered as sufficiently proved, therefore, that a discourse answering in a general way to our manuscript, as to its author, contents, time and place of composition, was written by Hakluyt, and presented to the Queen, say in September, 1584. But how can we know that that discourse was identically the same one here published for the first time; or that it might not have been another discourse quite different from this, which, having served its purpose, was like this permitted to fall into oblivion? This question is satisfactorily answered by another paper found in the Rolls Office, and indicated in Mr. Lemon's Calendar of State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90, Vol. CXCV., Art. 127, by the following notice :

"Copy, probably in the handwriting of James Lancaster, the navigator, of the 20 Heads of Chapters contained in the book of Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyage to the West Indies, which is offered for the rareness of the matter, and for that few or none (her Majesty excepted) hath seen the same. The bearer and author, Mr. Hakluyt, will present the book to the Secretary."

The same paper is indicated in Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar of the Colonial Series, East Indies, placed there on account of the head of the 17th chapter, while the other nineteen heads refer to the West Indies: —

“Heads of the Chapters contained in the book of Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to the West Indies. In the 17th it is argued that by these Colonies [proposed to be planted] the North-west passage to Cathay and China may be easily, quickly, and perfectly searched out, as well by river and overland as by sea, and proofs are quoted from testimonies out of the three volumes of voyages, gathered by Ramusius and other great authors.”¹ — (1513–1616, p. 94.)

This entry had already been copied for me by Mr. Sainsbury, among other extracts, from the Calendars; and, without attracting particular attention, had become familiar to my eye. Accordingly, when I read in the title-page of the manuscript of Sir Thomas Phillipps that the “Discourse is divided into twenty-one chapters, the titles whereof follow,” this entry was vaguely recalled to my recollection, and a surmise suggested that this Discourse might be the lost book of Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to which it refers. This surmise was strengthened by

¹ In the above abstract from Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar, he does not give the important information from the foot-note of the Heads of Chapters that Mr. Hakluyt was the author of the book of Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyage, as Mr. Lemon had done in the abstract quoted from his Calendar. Hakluyt's name seems also to have escaped Mr. St. John, in his *Life of Raleigh* (1869, p. 23), who appears to have consulted those Heads of Chapters, or the abstracts in the Calendars, as he attributes the lost book to Sir Walter Raleigh.

noticing that the title of the seventeenth chapter given by Mr. Sainsbury agrees literally with the title of the seventeenth chapter in the manuscript. It was accordingly with a strong presumption of the truth of my conjecture that I repaired to the Public Record Office, and, working again with the assistance of Mrs. Green, obtained access to the original paper; and on comparing with her *the 20 heads of chapters*, with the *titles of the 21 heads of chapters* into which the Discourse is divided, obtained not an absolute agreement, but an agreement in which the very differences only prove more clearly that they were copies of a common original.

To make this more obvious, a *fac-simile* of the original paper is here presented, followed by a literal copy of two or three of the heads of chapters, in which the words and parts of words torn away, or effaced from the original, by time or accident, are supplied, not by conjecture, but from the titles of our Discourse. The supplementary words and letters drawn from the titles of the Discourse tally exactly, in every instance, with the fragmentary parts of the Heads of Chapters. (See Appendix.)

The 21st chapter of the Phillipps manuscript is of the nature of an appendix, and was subsequently added. Its title is, "A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, which is sett down rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideration, then for any other reason," &c.; and the heading of the concluding part of that chapter is, "Things forgotten may here be noted as they come to mynde," &c.

But a very important and interesting foot-note is written underneath the Heads of Chapters in the manuscript in the Record Office, of which the following is a copy, in modern spelling: —

“These twenty several titles are the heads of the chapters contained in the book of Sir Walter Raleigh’s Voyage to the West Indies, which, because of the rareness of matter therein contained, and also for that few or none (her Majesty excepte) hath seen, I thought it best to offer your Worship my labor therein as one who best deserveth the same, and therefore have sent you the titles to know whether you like of the same or no. This bearer and author of the foresaid work, Mr. Hakluyt, doth at this instant present the book, written all with my hand, to Mr. Secretary, who hath very earnestly often times writ for it, and so hath the Earl of Leicester; but, as yet, this is the first exscription, and, if your Worship please, you shall have the second, when I shall understand so.”

This foot-note is singularly interesting and singularly obscure and difficult of interpretation, were it not for the key furnished by papers recently come to light. It is in reality a letter, though it has nothing in the usual form to show when, where, and by whom it was written, or to whom it was addressed. These points, however, may be inferred, with reasonable probability, from the contents of the note, taken in connection with the Hakluyt letter of 7th April, 1585, and other contemporary facts. In that letter, written in Paris, Mr. Hakluyt informs Secretary Walsingham of his purpose to send his Honor, immediately after Easter, the copy of a manuscript book of his in Eng-

lish concerning Mr. Raleigh's Voyage, which had been shown to Queen Elizabeth two days before he left England the previous year. In the foot-note we read that Mr. Hakluyt, the bearer and author of the aforesaid book, doth at this instant present it to Mr. Secretary. What has led our good chaplain to alter his plan, and to be the bearer of his book instead of sending it by another? In his letter, he seems to be anxious lest his grant from the Queen of the next vacancy of a prebend in Bristol Cathedral should be frustrated by the dealing of Mr. Sanders, a prebend of that place.

Now, even if other evidence were wanting, it is to be presumed that he would have sent the copy at the time promised, unless he could count upon presenting it in person not far from that time; and we accordingly infer that it was not long after Easter that Mr. Hakluyt presented his copy to Mr. Secretary. The fact that he was in England again not far from Easter, in the spring of 1585, is confirmed by the following item extracted from the Records of the Chapter Book of the Bristol Cathedral; namely, on the 24th of May, 1585, Richard Hakluyt exhibited the Queen's mandate for the next prebend.¹ It would seem accordingly that, not con-

¹ From the Records of the Chapter Books of the Bristol Cathedral, it appears that on 24th May, 1585, Richard Hakluyt exhibited the Queen's mandate for the next vacant prebend. This is the statement of John Le Neve in his "*Fasti Ecclesiae Angl.*" In Browne Willis's "*Survey of Cathedrals*," II. 788-9, the statement is that he obtained, 24th May, 1585, the Royal mandate, which seems to be incorrect, as Hakluyt in his letter represents himself as having obtained it, and paid money for the seals, at the close of his vacation in England, the previous year. It would seem probable that

tent with having invoked the aid of Walsingham to prevent being frustrated by the dealing of Mr. Sanders, he thought it best, perhaps on the suggestion of the Secretary, and doubtless by the permission of the Ambassador, to visit England again, and exhibit in person before the Chapter of Bristol Cathedral the Queen's mandate, which he had received the previous year before his "dispatch" from England, and which was already signed and sealed.

It may then be safely inferred that Mr. Hakluyt presented the book to Secretary Walsingham not far from the time when he purposed to send it; that is, soon after Easter, 1585.

Having thus in duty bound presented the first copy to Walsingham, who would be thought of by him as best deserving the next? who sooner than his old fellow-student at Oxford, the steady friend of the Western planting, to whom he had himself dedicated his first work on the *Divers Voyages* (1582), whom he had almost persuaded the last summer to join in this voyage of Raleigh, the worthy and virtuous son-in-law of Walsingham, to whom in all his letters to

he exhibited this mandate in person, having some anxiety about the dealing of Mr. Sanders, and having his old friends the Aldworths to see, and desiring to learn something about the Western Navigations in that seat of maritime enterprise. It seems he did not have to wait "for seven and seven years before he should be placed," as he feared; for, before the close of the year 1585, the coveted vacancy occurred by the death of the Rev. Arthur Sawle, and he was admitted in 1586, and held it, together with his other preferments, till the time of his death in 1616. (Compare *Biog. Brit.*, Vol. IV. 1757.) "Notwithstanding this preferment, he did not, as he informs us himself, give up his post of chaplain to the British Embassy, at Paris, until 1588, when he returned to England with Lady Sheffield, sister to his early patron, the Lord Admiral Howard, after a residence in France of five years." (Jones's *Introd. to Divers Voyages*.)

the Secretary he sent his personal compliments, — Sir Philip Sidney? What more natural than that, having made a copy of the titles of the Heads of Chapters, with a view of offering it to him, he should then and there write a note at the end of the extract, offering that first extract, and more if he desired it? ¹

At the time of the presentation of this Discourse to Walsingham, and when the author made the copy of the Heads of Chapters for another person, the book could not have been wholly finished in its present form. Certainly an additional chapter (No. 21) was subsequently added, as a sort of appendix. The title-page which the Discourse now bears could not have been prefixed to the copy presented to the Queen, if we may suppose that she received it not long after it was written, — that is, “before the coming home of the two barks,” in September, 1584, — inasmuch as “Mr. Walter Rayhly, nowe Knight,” was not knighted till some months later, — between the 19th December, 1584, and the 24th February, 1585. In Hakluyt’s letter from Paris referred to, he speaks of this book presented to the Queen, as “Mr. Rawley’s Voyage in English”; and in the foot-note to the heads

¹ The copy of the twenty Heads of Chapters in the Record Office, with the note written underneath, evidently originating with Hakluyt, appears not to be in his handwriting. At least, Mrs. Green thinks it cannot be his, unless he had two hands differing considerably from each other. Mr. Lemon believed the document to be in the handwriting of Sir James Lancaster, the celebrated navigator, which is not confirmed. Hakluyt’s original paper may have been subsequently transcribed by another, as there is subjoined to the Record Office copy, in the same hand, some “particulars of the embassy from the King of Japan to Pope Gregory XIII., with the oration of the ambassador, and the answer of the pontiff.” Pope Gregory gave audience to this embassy on the 23d March, 1585, as we learn from Purchas (Pilgrimage, ed. 1614, p. 533).

of chapters, "as the booke of Sr Walt : Raighleyes viage to the West Indies." Quite likely the present title-page was prefixed to the Discourse at the time the 21st chapter was added, concerning which we have no positive data.

It would appear from the foregoing that at least three, if not four, copies of this Discourse, were made by Hakluyt, besides the *original*, which he would naturally retain for himself. The first was presented to the Queen, as it was written for her own eye, and for those to whom she might choose to show it. It was not written for the press. The second was made for her chief secretary, Walsingham, who had heard of the book, perhaps had seen the Queen's copy, and now desired a copy for himself. A third may have been made for his "Worship," to whom the Heads of Chapters were sent; and the fourth, Sir Thomas Phillipps's copy, which alone contained the 21st chapter, or appendix.

How many of these copies were in Hakluyt's own handwriting we have no means of knowing, nor whether any other copies are now in existence. It is certainly not improbable that others may be hidden away in some royal chamber, buried in the dust of ages, or in some private collection; and that they may yet be brought to light by accident, or rescued from their hiding-place by some plodding antiquary. A manuscript so large as this, written by so renowned an author, under such distinguished auspices, relating to a subject more vital than any other to the welfare of England, could hardly, after its immedi-

ate use, have been treated with neglect or allowed to perish by the illustrious personages into whose hands it came, or, one would think, by their heirs and assigns.

At the time when this Discourse purports to have been written, in the summer of 1584, Raleigh, though only thirty-two years old, had already earned his position and entered upon the career as the founder of the transatlantic colonies of Great Britain. Every thing in the circumstances of his birth, his early education and subsequent experience, had contributed to qualify him for this position and work. Descended on his mother's side from the Champernouns, a family equally distinguished for rank and for public services, he had inherited a noble nature, instinct with loyalty, patriotism, and the spirit of honorable enterprise. These gifted powers had received an early bias in the direction of maritime adventure. He lived in the county of Devon, bordering easterly upon the sea, and saw the ships depart for the new-found lands, and, when they returned, heard the stories of the captain and sailor, of the wonders they had witnessed and the exploits they had performed. In his boyhood, he read the tales of Spanish discovery, conquest, and possession in the New World, and conceived a youthful admiration for the heroism in danger, and fortitude and patience in suffering, which he had occasion enough to remember in his own subsequent fortunes, and which he expressed in the review of his life, from the outlook of the Tower, in his *History of the World*.

But as he grew up, and began to enter into the great conflict of the age and of the country, his admiration for Spanish heroism was supplanted by a detestation for Spanish aggressions. During the five or six years of his service in France for the Huguenots, under Coligny, he had learned the fate experienced by the Huguenot Colony in Florida at the hands of the Spaniards, and at the same time had listened to the story of the beauty and richness and extent of the country, stretching far away to the north ; and had seen them drawn in lively colors by Le Moyne, whom he had brought to London and maintained at his own charges at Blackfriars, with a view to his own projects.

He seems thus early to have resolved that those fair regions beyond the seas should not be so easily abandoned to the Spanish power, but that the experiment of an English colony should be tried, by which Spain could be confronted on this new sphere, and this Land of Promise be wrested from her grasp, with all its beauties and treasures, and added to the domain of the sovereign Lady of Britain. His eyes were now turned to the West ; and he saw, by faith, future colonies planted there in defiance of Spain, and could not be contented till he was engaged in the work.

Soon after his return from France, in 1576, he accordingly enlisted in the projects of his step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who for more than twenty years had employed himself by successive petitions, and at length by an elaborate discourse, in

recommending to the Queen and the government to prosecute the Western discovery and colonization, but with no other effect than to set on foot the gold-hunting expeditions of Frobisher. These had nearly run their course, ending in disappointment and mortification, when Raleigh brought to the aid of Gilbert the enthusiasm and energy of his character, and impressed a new stamp upon the cause. There is some reason for thinking that the views of Raleigh differed in some respects from those originally advocated by Gilbert, and that, although he was younger by thirteen years, he exerted a strong influence in giving force and direction to the subsequent enterprises of Sir Humphrey.

He enlisted in the projects of his step-brother, and went with him on his first expedition, — from November, 1578, to June, 1579, — under the Royal Charter, which ended, indeed, in disaster, but at the same time, it is plausibly conjectured, furnished him that personal knowledge of the state of the Spanish possessions in the New World, so useful to him, and by which his future course was directed.

About the same period, for three or four years, he was employed in various military and diplomatic services in Ireland, and in the Netherlands, by which, if he was diverted temporarily from his favorite maritime enterprises, he was engaged in contending against the same omnipresent enemy, and gained that knowledge of the whole field of action and of the great actors in it, and that favor of the Queen and the Council, by which he became eminently

qualified for the great part he was soon to act, and was enabled to accomplish with such efficiency.

Relieved at length from these engagements, he returned to his more congenial projects, and early in 1584 aided his brother Adrian Gilbert in procuring a patent, and in fitting out an expedition for the discovery of the North-west Passage; having, in the previous year, assisted his brother Humphrey in setting forth his second and fatal expedition, under his patent of 1578. Though he did not embark in person, he spared no expense in equipping a ship, which bore his own name, but which, however, soon returned to port, either through the breaking out of some infectious disease, as reported, or by the treachery of the captain, as conjectured by Hayes.

On the 9th of September, 1583, the bark of Sir Humphrey Gilbert foundered, and this gallant adventurer went down. But the cause did not sink with him. When the news of his fate reached England by the return of the "Golden Hind," 22d September, it was resolved by the adherents of Gilbert that the cause should be prosecuted. There were many aspirants for the leadership; but Raleigh distanced all competitors, and obtained, 25th March, 1584, a patent from the Queen, renewing to him all the privileges granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. On the 27th of the next month, he sent out two barks with directions to explore the coast, and awaited their return and the report they should bring, before sending forth the first English colony.

To Raleigh's hands was now intrusted the work of

planting the English race on the shores of the New World. Under this grant of Elizabeth, till its forfeiture by the attainder of James in 1603, all that was done in this honorable service, during this twenty years, was under Raleigh's title.

What he did has been often told, and has left nothing to be desired, and does not concern us here. The reason which controlled his action, and the policy out of which this effort grew, have not been so fully exhibited. This policy was slowly developed by his experiences in France, in Ireland and the Netherlands; as also in his reading, and in his intercourse with Coligny, William of Orange, and other distinguished statesmen of the time.

Though Raleigh's Virginia enterprise failed, and he has not the honor of planting the English race in America, "his hopes were strong enough to withstand the failure of nine several expeditions, and the natural discouragement of twelve years' imprisonment. Just on the eve of his own fall from outward greatness, he had written: 'I shall yet live to see it an ENGLISH NATION.' That faith remained with him to the Tower, and he did live to see his prediction realized. . . His Virginia enterprise had failed, but his perseverance in it had sown broadcast the seeds of eventual success. . . Raleigh is the virtual founder of Virginia, and of what has grown thereout." (Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, I. 91, 93.)

Having now assumed this great work of colonization, he felt its responsibility, and employed the in-

terval in making ready to avail himself of the report of his captains, when they should return.

The different interests of those who had schemes of their own, and had been superseded, were to be conciliated. New adherents were to be gained. His grant was to be confirmed by Parliament.¹ The general reasons for engaging in this work were to be stated, and the particular reasons in the existing state of things were to be given. While the great public were to be influenced with the prospect of gold, the Queen and Council were to be informed of the necessity, arising out of the political condition of England, for immediate action. A text-book for the English Statesman, now that the nation was at length starting upon this great work, was to be prepared, which should embrace a summary of the reasons for this enterprise scattered through the Discourses of Carlyle, Peckham, and Hayes, already written, and which should include a statement of those additional reasons which had been suggested to himself: something which, if it could not be made public as a whole, might serve to confirm the faith and define

¹ With diplomatic skill, Raleigh bound to his interest the parties who each had separate schemes of his own to prosecute after the death of Gilbert. This was accomplished, in part, by his bringing about a marriage between Robert Sidney, the younger brother of Philip Sidney, and his lovely cousin Barbara Gamage, the heiress of large estates, by which Philip Sidney and his father-in-law, Walsingham, and the latter's step-son, Christopher Carlyle, and Sidney's uncle Leycester, were bound by family ties to his enterprise. And it is not, perhaps, ascribing too much to beauty and wealth, and the family ties resting on them, to suppose that Barbara had something to do in bringing about that accord which was witnessed in Parliament a few months later, when Walsingham and Sidney were on a committee to whom was referred the application for a confirmation of Raleigh's patent. (*Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by James Augustus St. John, 1869, pp. 87, 88.)

the views of those interested ; so that this might not prove as evanescent an interest as some of the preceding, — that Frobisher's quest of gold and Adrian Gilbert's search for the North-west Passage might not be the only motives, — but that a broad, comprehensive, national policy might be adopted.

Much of this work might be done by himself, but some of it, perhaps, might be better done by others. While the great policy had formed itself in his own mind by his far-reaching views, by his wide experience, the exhibiting it with the literary finish and the learned illustrations desirable might well be thought too much for one immersed in the practical business of fitting out this great colonial expedition. With few exceptions, the works by which Raleigh's fame as an author is established were not written until he was confined in the Tower. There were points of history, questions of title, theological and moral argumentations to be pursued, in which literary assistance might be wanted. Dr. Dee, who was a kind of literary secretary of this whole enterprise, and had often been consulted by navigators, was now absent in Germany.

To whom should Raleigh look for assistance but to the young preacher, Richard Hakluyt. Though still a young man, he had obtained a high reputation, and had made great proficiency in maritime studies. As has already been observed, he does not seem to have been previously in the confidence of Raleigh, or to have known his plans. As late as April, 1584, he did not know of Raleigh's having superseded Car-

lyle. All his relations appear to have been with Walsingham, Carlyle, and Sidney. He must however, soon after this, have learned the turn matters had taken, and that all other schemes were now merged into the one voyage of Mr. Raleigh; and he doubtless held himself at the service of the new enterprise. We have already noticed that he was sent to Paris in the latter part of 1583, as chaplain of the embassy; and from his letters to Walsingham, written in January and April of the following year, from the embassy, quoted above, it is obvious what was the chief object of his mission. He avowed his readiness to hold himself and all his talents at the service of the cause of Western planting.

What more natural than that Hakluyt should be sent for in the emergency to aid the new enterprise? Such a hint he can hardly fail to have received from her Majesty's principal secretary, in Raleigh's behalf; and, having obtained leave of the Ambassador, he placed himself for the time under the direction of his new patron, henceforth the great leader in the goodly work of Western planting. He was first of all to learn the aims and objects of Raleigh in his projected colony; and he himself has said, in the Dedication of his edition of Navigations, 1589, that Raleigh was one of those from whom he had received the "chiefest light" into the Western Navigations; implying that he had got some light here, which, with all his studies, he had not received before.

Having gained this new light and taken these in-

structions, he is soon found in London, actively engaged in advocating the new enterprise, striking high, and aiming to gain over the leading men of the times. He does not pass by his fellow-student at Oxford; but after Sidney had surrendered a part of the large interest he had obtained to Sir George Peckham, and bound himself to England by marrying the daughter of Walsingham, Hakluyt endeavors to persuade him to join in this new enterprise. In a letter from Sidney to Stafford, of 21st July, 1584, he says, "We are half persuaded to enter the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbert very eagerly, whereunto your Mr. Hakluyt hath served for a very good trumpet." (Sidney Papers, I. 389.) "The journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbert" can be no other than the continuation of the enterprise by Raleigh, Gilbert having perished at sea the year before, and his patent having expired on the 11th of June, 1584.

It thus appears that, while he was "trumpeting" the cause in the ears of the great men of the nation, he was at the same time writing a book for the eyes of the Queen and her councillors; doing thus for his new patron what Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, and Christopher Carlyle had each done with his own hand for his own enterprise. Raleigh had in Hakluyt a scribe well instructed in the matters of the Western Navigation, and able from his own treasures to bring forth things new and old in the enforcement of the views of his oracle. It should not detract from the merit of this book, as an exponent of the views of Raleigh, that his own pen was

not employed in its production, inasmuch as it appears from all the circumstances to have been not, indeed, from his dictation, but from his suggestion and by his inspiration.

It might be supposed, from the title-page of this Discourse, reciting that it was written at the request and direction of the Right Worshipful Mr. Walter Raleigh, before the coming home of his two barks, that it would have for its object to advocate the purpose of settlement on those more southern regions afterwards taken possession of by him, — the so-called Virginia voyage, — thereby associating it with the particular expedition on which these vessels were sent ; but it will be seen that Raleigh's name is not mentioned in it, neither does the Discourse advocate the scheme of any particular person or party. It recommends the colonization of Norumbega, and draws special attention to the region of Cape Breton, or the tract near by, as offering superior advantages for the beginning of the enterprise. The writer contends that England has a just title to all that firm land of America, from Florida northward to 67°, and not yet in any Christian prince's actual possession, as being first discovered by Sebastian Cabot at the cost of King Henry VII. ; and that England should consummate this title by taking possession by colonization. And in the third chapter he gives a particular description of the soil, climate, and productions of the whole coast from 30° of latitude northward, so far as he is able to find such a description ; beginning with Ribault, and citing Verrazzano, Gomez,

Cartier, Peckham and many others, whose published relations had come under his eye ; showing the wealth that may be derived to England from that part of America, "if by our slacknes we suffer not the French or others to prevente us."

The term "Norumbega," which Hakluyt employs, had a different significance at different periods. There was the fabled city of that name, seated on a large river on the coast of Maine, — the Penobscot. Then there was the country of Norumbega, of wider extent, sometimes embracing Nova Scotia and New England, and at one time covering the whole coast from Cape Breton to 30° in Florida.¹ (See in *Ramusio*, III. 423, "*Della terra di Norumbega*.") Subsequently, it receded to narrower limits, and embraced only the region on both sides of the river to which reference has been made.

Hakluyt appears here to apply the term to a considerable extent of country, beginning at Cape Breton on the south-west, and extending along the coast in that direction without definite limit. And while it was evidently associated in his mind with the more northerly section, which was better known to navigators of that period, it might not have excluded the more southerly region, with which geographers were then less acquainted.

In his "Divers Voyages," published in 1582, —

¹ The name of "Florida" seems to have been restricted by Hakluyt, in its northern boundary, to a region a little north of the territory which now bears that name, and south of what was called "Wingandacoa," or Virginia, after the return of Raleigh's barks, in September, 1584. See note in Appendix to "p. 19" of Discourse.

dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and no doubt written in aid of the Gilbert enterprise, which was favored by Sidney and his father-in-law, Walsingham, — he designates, by its running title, the voyage of Verrazzano along the greater part of our east coast, as “The discoverie of Morumbega,”¹ as he also does, perhaps owing to the printer’s error in continuing the headline, the account of the uncertain regions visited by the brothers Zeni. And Captain John Smith, as late as 1620, in the first edition of his “New Englands Trials,” says, — “These fourteene yeres I haue spared neither pains nor money, according to my abilitie, in the discouery of *Norumbega*, where with some thirty seuen men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and fve, against the fury of the saluages, I began that plantation now in *Virginia*.” It should be said that neither the maps of Hakluyt’s time, including that of Lok published in the “Divers Voyages,” nor those of an earlier or later period, give so wide a latitude to the name as this would seem to indicate.

But Raleigh’s voyage and schemes of colonization should not be regarded as in opposition to the general plan of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or of Gilbert’s assigns. They all had one purpose, that of colonizing the country. After the return of the “Golden Hind,” in September, 1583, bringing the news of the “heavy success” of that expedition, and of Gilbert’s bark having foundered at sea, those interested in his patent, by having assignments of land under it, or in other ways, resolved to prosecute the enterprise each

¹ The “M” being without doubt a typographical error for “N.”

for himself, and perhaps to procure a separate license or patent from the Queen. Among these several persons were Sir George Peckham, Sir Philip Sidney, Christopher Carlyle, and Walter Raleigh. Raleigh, by his superior activity, adroitness, and wealth, and by his great influence at court, was able to anticipate the more tardy movements of his friendly rivals, some of whom appear already to have concentrated their interest in his particular enterprise; and procured a new patent, almost identical in its terms with that of Gilbert, dated 25 March, 1584, and sent off his two barks before the expiration of the latter, which was limited to 11th June, of that year.

This Discourse purports to have been written in recommendation of an enterprise of planting the English race in the unsettled parts of North America discovered by Cabot and not yet occupied by any Christian people, of which possession had been taken the previous year by Gilbert; and, indeed, in advocacy of what was even then known as the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of which Raleigh's separate enterprise was but a continuation. It commends this policy on high and patriotic grounds, urging the commercial benefits it will confer on the English people, and as a remedy for the existing political evils by which the State was threatened. It advocates the first planting on those more northerly regions, near which possession had already been taken, and to which the attention of the assigns of Gilbert had been particularly directed. In a letter

from Hakluyt to Walsingham, dated at Paris, 7th January, 1584, he speaks of commodities brought out of the more northerly parts, "whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended."

If the views of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were not quite as vague and comprehensive as the terms of their grants, they were at first, perhaps, far less distinct and definite than has been usually supposed. As to their destination, there was, perhaps, little divergence: the difference lay rather in the routes by which they should be reached. Sir Humphrey Gilbert would seem to have been in an impartial mood, until his last voyage, when, under the excitement of a prospect of gold or silver in Newfoundland, he declared himself to have become decidedly a northern man. Perhaps the case was the same with Sir Walter Raleigh. Afterwards, under the glowing pictures of Virginia given by his returned captains, the southern project absorbed his attention, and that of the government and nation. It was not, perhaps, until its complete failure and final abandonment, that the attention of the government and navigators was turned towards realizing the original projects.

Proposing as it does a remedy for existing evils and a deliverance from threatening dangers, and instinct as it is with the interests, the passions, and the aspirations of the hour, this Discourse cannot be justly estimated unless viewed in its relation to the period in which it was written; viz., the political,

religious, and commercial condition at that precise period in England, — a condition certainly critical in the highest degree, presenting just ground for the anxieties of its statesmen, and perhaps offering some apology for the measures which they were driven to adopt.

As “principal of the Princes of the Reformed Religion,” Queen Elizabeth was the main object of attack by Philip II., the chief aim of whose government was the suppression of heretics throughout the world. To compass her destruction by all the resources of his military and naval power, and diplomatic intrigue and private machination had been early avowed as his intention, and steadily pursued year after year by fair means and foul. The other objects by which his attention had been occupied in the European States were not so much regarded in themselves, as means to this great end of all his policy. If the Netherlands were to be reduced to obedience, it was to obtain a convenient footing for the invasion of England. If a hollow and temporary peace was to be patched with France, it was to gain liberty to pursue his great purpose of reducing England to the obedience of the Faith.

Sowing dissensions in Scotland, aiding insurrections in Ireland with more open succors, employing assassins to attempt the life of the Queen, were the by-play of this unscrupulous tyrant, who occupied the throne of Spain in the avowed name of the Ancient Faith. As if moved by the secret hand of the Escorial, the march of events seemed to be in the line

of the Spanish policy, and steadily advancing to the overthrow of England. The sea-girt island was reduced almost to a state of siege. In this eventful year 1584, the crisis seemed to have been reached, and the death-struggle was at hand. The Prince of Orange had fallen by the hand of the assassin, and the Duke of Parma was in the field. D'Anjou, that worthless prince to whom the worthy statesmen of the Netherlands had been reduced by their extremity to look for support, had also died, and with him the last hope of a French alliance; while the Catholic League under the Duke of Guise had taken new life, and stood ready to enter England by the door of Scotland and place Mary on the throne. The German Protestants, having won peace for themselves at the treaty of Passau, so far from extending its immunities to their suffering brethren of the Netherlands, were quite disposed to exclude them from it; being unwilling to mete the same measure of toleration to the Calvinists which had been dealt to them by the Papists.

To make the matter worse, England and Spain were nominally at peace; and the former, as then the weaker power, was reluctant to break even those feeble restraints upon the latter which such a state of things imposed. And, with the knife of the enemy at her throat, Elizabeth still temporized, and shrunk from every step by which the real enmity should lose its disguise and become open war. The nation was driven to allow courses which it was at the same time compelled to disclaim; and, in the view of its best

statesmen, this temporizing policy had brought it to the verge of the precipice. In the treacherous calm which had been maintained, they could hear distinctly the notes of preparation for the Invincible Armada.

There were signs that this policy had reached its last limits, and that a new and more open and resolute course must be adopted to save the nation from ruin. Just at this time, perhaps, the greatest despondency prevailed with the true-hearted statesmen of England. What was to be done to prevent the monarch of Spain from carrying out his designs against that power.

The question was seriously considered whether the policy to be adopted by England should be defensive or aggressive. That it should be aggressive, open, and avowed, was recommended by the greater part of her leading statesmen; namely, that the Queen should commit herself to the Protestant cause, assist the Huguenots and the Netherlanders, and form a Protestant League. Some were for assisting Don Antonio, the fugitive King of Portugal, and for carrying the war even "into the bowels of Spain." Sir Philip Sidney had sympathized largely in this offensive policy, having been imbued by his friend, Hubert Languet; but the indecision of the Queen had led him to doubt if any thing could come of it.¹ The proffered sovereignty of the Netherlands was rejected by Elizabeth. A joint protectorate with France was pronounced impracticable. An avowed intervention on the part of England in the Netherlands was at

¹ Fox Bourne's *Life of Sidney*, 433 *et seq.*

length decided upon as absolutely indispensable, not only for the Reformed Religion, but for her own safety. This was according to the advice of Raleigh, and was carried into effect.

But this was not Raleigh's peculiar plan. His scheme was not to await attack in the Netherlands or in England, but to attack Spain in the seas of the West Indies, and in her American possessions. It had been seen that her sudden greatness had grown from the wealth drawn from her mines, and transported in her treasure-ships and plate-fleets, and were the means by which all the trouble was made, — armies raised, fleets built and equipped, dissensions kept alive, the great men and whole states bribed, assassinations hired and rewarded. Just at this time, the Spanish ducats were moving round very briskly in doubtful provinces.¹

The weakness of Spain in America had been discovered by Hawkins and Drake, and had produced great effect all over Europe. Its result was to lead to direct attack upon Spanish possessions in that part of the world. This was now advocated as the best course for overthrowing Spanish tyranny. She was there weakest, though she derived thence the sinews of her strength. Her soldiers had been withdrawn from the colonies to increase the armies of Alva and Parma, and must be called back to defend them, and the attention of Spain be thereby diverted from European projects.

¹ "The ducats of Spain," wrote the envoy of Catherine de Medici to his mistress, "are trotting about in such fashion that they have vanquished the courage of multitudes." Motley's *United Netherlands*, I. 19.

This weakness of the Spanish power in America also furnished a direct inducement to colonization by England. The colonies there established beyond the reach of Spain would be positions from which she could be most advantageously attacked, and from which her treasure-fleets could be arrested.

Under the operation of the statutes of conformity, disaffection and strife had already become serious and alarming in England. Her statesmen who favored the colonizing enterprise, Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham, were all inclined to the Puritan side, and would have gladly seen a home provided for non-conformists and recusants; and, according to the view given of Elizabeth by Froude, she would not have been unwilling to see them provided for abroad, though she would not tolerate them at home. Thus the original policy of England's statesmen made provision for such colonies as afterward took place.

In causing this Discourse to be written and laid before the Queen, Raleigh had hopes to lead her to assume the position and duties of the chief of the Princes of the Reformed Religion, to influence her imagination, convince her judgment, and overcome her niggardliness. He well knew that it was not competent for himself alone, however great his energy and force of character, or however large his resources, to carry on this great national work and bring it to successful accomplishment. There was wanted for this enterprise, as for all the other enterprises against the Spanish power, what was so hard to obtain, the

hearty, open, and steady support of the Queen. And Raleigh felt the same need for this aggressive movement against Spain in America that Walsingham and his associates had felt in respect to the Netherlands. Elizabeth was fond of having her subjects serve her and the State at their own expense. Sir Humphrey Gilbert expressed his last hope that the Queen would, on his return to England, subscribe ten thousand pounds in aid of his enterprise. It was the settled conviction of Raleigh that nothing had been wanting to secure success but this active and liberal support of the government.

These motives, embracing the ordinary commercial views, intensified by the religious and political passions and interests of the hour, were those by which Raleigh was led to resume the enterprise which had failed in the hands of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and to undertake the great work left unaccomplished for so many years.

L. W.

HAKLUYT'S DISCOURSE.

A particular discourse concerninge the
greate necessitye and manifolde remedies,
that are like to growe to this
Realm of Englande by the western
discoueries lately attempted written
in the yere 1584. by Richarde
Lhartwyt of Oxforde at the
requeste and direction of the
righte worshipfull Mr. Walter
Raghy. now knight before
the commynge home of his
Cross Barke. And is di-
uided into xxij^r chapters
the title wherof
followes in the next
leafe //

A particuler discourse concerning the
greate necessitie and manifolde comody-
ties that are like to growe to this
Realme of Englande. by the Western
discoueries lately attempted, written
in the yere 1584. by Richarde
Hackluyt of Oxforde, at the
requeste and direction of the
righte worshipfull M^r Walter
Rayhly, nowe Knight, before
the comynge home of his
twoo barkes, and is de-
vided into xxi chapters,
the titles whereof fol-
lowe in the nexte
leafe.

[HEADS OF CHAPTERS.]

- I. That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thinlarge-
mente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the
refourmed relligion are chefely bounde, amongst whome her
Majestie ys principall.
- II. That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daun-
gerous, especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions,
where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer
bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their rellig-
ion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her
Majestie. ✓
- III. That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the como-
dities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to
travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.
- IV. That this enterprise will be for the manifold employmente of
numbers of idle men, and for breeding of many sufficient, and
for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our
realme.
- V. That this voyadge will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the
King of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our
pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every
yere, one or two hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the
fysshinge in Newfounde lande. ✓
- VI. That the mischefe that the Indian treasure wroughte in
time of Charles the late Emperor, father to the Spanishe
kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens moste excel-
lent Majestie, leaste the contynuall comynge of the like threas-
? .

ure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.

- VII. What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours, wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies.
- VIII. That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymaged and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any suche forces as ys falsly geven oute by the popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.
- IX. The names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiell of the mayne lande of AMERICA under the kinge of Spayne.
- X. A brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the bay of MEXICO beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what comodities they yelde.
- XI. That the Spainardes have executed moste outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are everywhere there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doe it already in dyvers places where they were lordes heretofore.
- XII. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, nor nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more civilitie.
- XIII. That hereby the revenewes and customes of her Majestie, bothe outwarde and inwardes, shall mightely be enlarged by the toll, excises and other dueties, which withoute oppression may be raised.

- XIV. That this action will be greatly for the increase, mayneyntenance and safetie of our navye, and especially of greater shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.
- XV. That speedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon those luckye westerne discoveries, for feare of the daunger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged. ✓
- XVI. Meanes to kepe this enterpryse from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour. ✓
- XVII. That by these colonies the Northwest Passage to CATHAIA and CHINA may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute, as well by river and overlande as by sea, for prooffe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testymonies oute of three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors. ✓
- XVIII. That the Queene of Englands title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from FLORIDA to the circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.
- XIX. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies graunted to the Kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the VIth, who was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.
- XX. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyage and the plantinge there. ✓
- XXI. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyage, which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyage in hande to the presente consideration then for any other reason, for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyage, without which the voyage ys maymed.

That this Western discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement
of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the
Refourmed Relligion are chiefly bounde, amongeste whome
her Majestie ys principall.

CAP. I.

Scinge that the people of that parte of AMERICA
from 30. degrees in Florida northewarde unto 63.
degrees (which ys yet in no Christian princes actuall
possession) are idolaters; and that those which Ste-
phen Gomes broughte from the coaste of NORUM-
BEGA in the yere 1524. worshipped the sonne, the
moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as
it ys recorded in the historie of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, in
Italian, fol. 52. of the third volume of Ramusius;
and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and
50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudru-
aigny, as we reade in the tenth chapter of the sec-
onde relation of Jaques Cartier, whoe saieth: This
people beleve not at all in God, but in one whome
they call Cudruaigny; they say that often he speaketh
with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe,
whether goodd or badd, &c., and yet notwithstand-
inge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doe all
that they sawe the Christians doe in their devine ser-

vice, with like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become Christians, and woulde faine have been baptized, as Verarsanus witnesseth in the laste wordes of his relation, and Jaques Cartier in the tenth chapter before recited — it remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste godly and Christian work may be perfourmed of enlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour into the righte and perfect way of their saluation. The blessed Apostle Paule, the converter of the Gentiles, Rom: 10. writeth in this manner: Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lorde shall be saved. But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? and howe shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? and howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessary for the salvation of those poore people which have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them. But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubt which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faithe. Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe. By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to enlarge and advaunce the same. Neither oughte this to be their laste worke, but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the

The Prynces
of England
called the
defenders of
the faithe.

comaundemente of our Saviour, Christe, Mathewe 6, Ffirste seeke the kingdome of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other thinges shalbe mynistr'd unto you.

Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys, by plantinge one or two colonies of our nation upon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel. Otherwise, for preachers to come unto them rashly with oute some suche preparation for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their appaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened unto those Spanishe ffryers, that, before any plantinge, withoute strengthe and company, landed in Fflorida, where they were miserablie massacred by the savages. On the other side, by meane of plantinge firste, the small nation of the Portingales towards the Southe and Easte have planted the Christian faithe accordinge to their manner, and have erected many bisshoprickes and colledges to traine upp the youthe of the infidells in the same, of which acte they more vaunte in all their histories and chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely, as they did not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theires, then in the conqueste of

Plantinge
fyrste neces-
sarye.

the whole contrie, or in any other thing whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis) have established in the West Indies three archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Luna, and Onseo, and thirtene other bisshopricks there named, and have builte above CC. houses of relligion in the space of fyftie yeres or thereabouts. Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation, as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falsehoodde to truthe, from dombe idolls to the lyvinge God, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest heavens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles, when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goe into Bithinia, the Holy Ghoste suffered him not. But at Troas a vision appered unto him by night. There stoode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge : Come into Macedonia and helpe us. And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them. Even so wee, whiles wee have soughte to goe into other countries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell), God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of

AMERICA crye oute unto us, their nexte neighboures, to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidinges of the gospell. Unto the prince and people that shalbe the occasion of this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the furtheraunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles treasures of his riches, and fill them with aboundaunce of his hidden blessinges; as he did to the goodd Queene Isabella, which beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne jewells to gage for money to furnishe out Columbus for the firste discovery of the West Indies.

And this enterprise the princes of the relligion (amonge whome her Majestie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to their side, shewing that they are the true Catholicke church because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of infidells to Christianitie. Yea, I myselfe have bene demaunded of them, how many infidells have been by us converted? Whereunto, albeit I alleaged the example of the mynisters which were sente from Geneva with Villegagnon into Bresill, and those that wente with John Ribault into Florida, as also those of our nation that went with Ffrobisher, Sir Fraunces Drake, and Ffenton; yet in very deede I was not able to name any one infidell by them converted. But God, quoth I, hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh houer. And if it please him to move the harte of her Majestie to put her helpinge hande to this godly action, she

A question
of the adver-
sary.

shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes as any other prince in all Christendome. And as for the boasting of your conversion of such multitudes of infidells, yt may justly be compted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawen them as it were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say, from one error into another. Nowe therefore I truste the time ys at hande when by her Majesties forwardnes in this enterprise, not only this objection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our frutefull labor in Godds harvest amonge the infidells, but also many inconveniences and strifes amongst ourselves at home, in matters of ceremonies, shalbe ended. For those of the clergye which by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to set themselves on worke in reducinge the savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in relligion alreadie established by authoritie. So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongst brethren be avoyded, so shal the gspell amonge infidells be published.

That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially daungerous in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their religion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty. CAP. II.

Wee are nowe to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades which at this day are frequented by our nation. And firste, to begynne southwarde, and so come to the northe; leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe, let us firste speake of our trade in Barbarie. If any of our shippes tradinge thither be dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that prooffe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men into the Inquisition, chardginge them that they bringe armour, munition, and forbidden merchandize to strengthen the infidells againste these partes of Christendome; which thinge is comitted to printe and confessed by all our marchants tradinge thither. And thoughte our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the contrie permitting the people to robbe and rifle until another kinge be chosen, withoute makinge Barbary.

any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the trafficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omitt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes which have become renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the contrie their masters can have no manner of recovery, neither call them into justice.

The Domynions of the Kinge of Spayne.

In all the Kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either inforced with wounded consciences to playe the dissemblinge hipocrites, or be drawen to mislike with the state of relligion mainteyned at home, or cruelly made away in the Inquisition. Moreover, he being our mortall enemye, and his empire of late beinge increased so mightely, and our necessitie of oiles and of coulours for our clothinge trade beinge so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of our navye, our trafficque and recourse beinge so greate to his domynions.

The trade of Turkey.

For the new trade in Turkey, besides the greate expences in mayneteyninge a kind of embassador at Constantinople, and in sendinge of presentes to Selym the Graunde Segnior, and to divers of his insatiable bassoes, our marchantes are faine with large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta, in whose daunger their shippes must often passe. Moreover that trade is so moche to the detrymente of the State of Venice, and all the other States of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in seekinge howe they may overthrowe the same. Neither is it the leaste incomoditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted by the corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers, by

which they had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin, soncke this yere ; and the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the master with another hanged, and the reste made slaves. Besides, the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at lengthe with moche adoe delivered.

To leave the Levant and to come to France, the France. traficque there of myne owne knowledge is growen to such decaye, partely by the impositions and taxes which are daily devised by the kinge, partely by their subtil sleights and devices to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and partely by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste parte are wearye of the contrie, and some of them utterly undoñ by their subtill and unconcionable wrangling. As for all Flaunders and the Lowe Flaunders Contries, these eightene yeres moste cruell civill warres have so spoiled the traficque there, that there is nothinge but povertie and perill, and that which is worse, there is no hope of any speddy amendemente.

To come to the Esterlinges and the trades with the Estlande. cities within the Sounde of Denmarke, they beinge deprived of the olde priviledges of the Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholly to cutt of all our occupieng that way ; and to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priviledges in all their greate townes. Also

Denmarke. the exactions of the Kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the Sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell, and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our shippes within the Sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small inconveniences and myschefes.

Russye. Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, which was so chardgeable in the begynnyng, what with the coste of the discoverie, what with presentes to the Emperour, together with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stode them in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the Hollanders, as also the men of Diepe, are entred into their trade by the Emperours permission; yea, whereas at the firste our men paid no custome, of late yeres, contrarie to their firste priviledge, they have bene urged to pay yt. Also the chardges of bringinge the Emperours ambassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here, and the settinge furthe of her Majesties embassadour thither with presentes to the Emperour, lyenge all upon the poore marchantes neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease the same, the Kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them, though they touche not upon any of his domynions. And nowe the Emperour of Russia beinge late deade, yt is greatly feared that the voyadge wilbe utterly overthrowen, or els become not worthe the contynuaunce.

Thus havinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to seeke some newe and better trade, of

lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse damage, and of more aduantage ; the rather to auide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of Kinge Phillipps domynions, where this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the master of our shippes. Firste, he willethe the master to make a crosse with his fore finger and his thombe, layenge one over the other crosswise. This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doe not, that God demaunde yt of you ; and the Englishe master muste saye, Amen. You shall sweare by that crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doe beleve as our Catholicke Church of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte, that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Church of Rome ; and that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Church of Rome. What marchandize bringe you ; suche and suche. We will and comaunde you and your companie to come on land to masse every Sonday and holy day, upon paine of discommunication. Then they open their chestes, and looke if the master and maryners bringe any bookes with them in their chests. This don, the officers that come with the preestes aske of the master and maryners chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles, as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes with their walletts full of victualls. The master doth pay four ryalls of plate for

the barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurye permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communyon, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse. These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades. CAP. III.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the comodities of this newe westerne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected ; wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituation of the places which are left for us to be possessed. The contries therefore of AMERICA where unto we have just title, as beinge firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh, from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees, (and not yet in any Chrestian princes actuall possession,) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turkey, Greece, all the islandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, Fraunce, Flaunders, Highe Almayne, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may presently or within a shorte space afforde unto us, for little or nothinge, and with moche more safetie, eyther all or a greate parte of the commodities which the aforesaid contries do yelde us at a very dere hande and with manifolde daungers.

In the first
volume of
Ramusius,
fol. 374,
pag. 2.

Firste, therefore, to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyages of those which personally have

with diligence searched and viewed these contries.

John Ribault. John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse, extant in printe bothe in Frenche and Englishe: Wee entred (saieth he) and viewed the contrie which is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, Hony, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodds of all sortes, Venison, palme trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest, with also the fairest vines in all the worlde, with grapes accordinge, which naturally withoute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull greatness and heichte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters, mallardes, egripts, Herons, Curlues, Bitters, Mallardes, Egripts. woodcockes, and all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hinds, bucks, wilde swyne, and all other kynd of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footinge there, and also afterwarde in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte. Also there be conies and hares, silkewormes in marvelous nomber, a great deale fairer and better then be our silkewormes. Againe, in the sixte leafe and seconde page; They shewed unto us by signes that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home. Also leade like unto ours, which wee shewed them. Also turqueses and greate Turqueses, Perles in aboundaunce. aboundaunce of perles, which as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the rivers side and amongst the reedes and in the marishes, in so marvelous aboundaunce as it

is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles founde there as in any contrie in the worlde. In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus: The scituation is under 30. degrees, 30 degrees. a good clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, which willingly will obey, The gentlenes of the people. yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goe aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doe. In the eighth leafe: It is a place wonderfull fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it would bringe forthe wheate and all other corne twice a yere. Harvest twice yn the yere. In the ninth leafe yt followeth: Wee founde there a greate number of pepper trees, the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered. Pepper groweth here; yt is longe pepper. In the tenth leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines with grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge, that ever weare sene. Thus have you brefely the some of the comodities which were founde by John Ribault and his companie on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

Moreover, Doctor Monardus, that excellent phisition of Civill, writinge of the trees of the West Indies in his booke called Joyfull Newes out of the New founde worlde, maketh mention of a tree called Sassafras, which the Frenchmen founde in Florida, Sassafras. fol. 46 of his booke, in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes, of greate vertues and

excellencies, healinge therewith grevous and variable diseases. It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a Frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt, and tolde me marvellis of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed with the water which was made of it, and I judged that, which nowe I doe finde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the Frenchemen which had bene in the Florida, at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that the Indians did shewe them this tree, and the manner howe they shoulde use yt, &c; so they did, and were healed of many evils; which surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree, as the Indyans terme yt, is called Pauame, and the Frenchemen call it Sassafras. To be brefe, the Doctor Monardus bestoweth eleven leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof.

The nature and comodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed testimonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes, bothe which in one yere, 1524. discovered the said contries, and broughte home of the people; Verarsana into Ffraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana, fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyonde this wee save the open contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare, with many

faire feedes and plaines full of mightie greate wooddes, some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees, and pleasaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymage. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia, or the wilde desertes of Tartaria, and the northerne coastes, full of fruteles trees; but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cyresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe, which yelde moste swete savours farr from the shoare; neyther doe wee thincke that they, partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them, are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the colour of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And the lande is full of many beastes, as redd dere, fallowe dere, and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water, with greate plentie of fowles convenient for all pleasaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate, betwene hote and colde; no vehement windes doe blowe in these regions, &c. Againe, in the fourth leafe as it is in Englishe, speakinge of the nexte contrie, he saieth: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, which springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, which, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, withoute all doubte they woulde yelde excellent wynes; for havinge oftentimes seene the frute thereof dried, which was swete and pleasaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doe esteeme of the same, because that in

Druggs,
Spycery,
Golde.

34 degrees.

Vynes excel-
lent.

Roses,
Violetts,
Lyllies.

Corn,
Wyne,
Oyle.

These apples
growe in
Italy, and
are yellowe
like a pipon.

41 degrees
and 2 terces.

Copper.

Stephen
Gomez.

every place where they growe, they take away the under branches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better. Wee founde also roses, violetts, lyllies, and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after, in the sixte leafe, he saieth: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, which wee founde as pleasaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oile. For therein there are plaines 25. or 30. leagues broad, open and withoute any impedymente of trees, of suche frutefulnes that any seede beinge sown therein will bringe furthe moste excellent frute. Wee entred afterwarde into the wooddes, which wee founde so greate and thicke, that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were oakes, cyppresses, and other sortes unknowen in Europe. Wee founde pomi appij, ploĩmes, and nuttes, and many other sortes of frutes to vs unknowen. There are beastes in greate aboundaunce, as redd dere and fallowe dere, leopardes and other kindes, which they take with their bowes and arrowes, which are their chefe weapons. This lande is scituate in the parallele of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. terces. And towardes the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hanginge at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relation of Verarsana.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes, which by the commandemente of the Emperour Charles the Fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega. These are the wordes of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo in his summarye of the

Weste Indies, translated into Italian, concerninge him, fo. 52: Dapoi che vostra Maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arriuò qui nel mese di Nouembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, ilquale nel' anno passato del 1524. per comandamento di vostra Maestà, nauigò alla parte di Tramontana, et trouò gran parte di terra continouata a quella che si chiama dellos Bachallaos, discorrendo à Occidente, et giace in 40. et 41. grado, et cosi poco piu et meno ; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, et ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo che communemente sono, perche anchora il detto piloto disse hauer visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza, il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma ; sono grandi arcieri, et vanno coperti di pelle d'animali saluaticchi, et d' altri animali. Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori, et zibellini, et altre ricche fodere, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto pilotto. Hanno argento et rame, et secondo che dicono questi Indiani, et con segni fanno intendere, adorano il Sole et la Luna, anche hanno altre idolatrie et errori, come quelli di terra ferma.

Marternes,
Sables,
Riche fures,
Silver and
Copper.

Another Frenche capitaine of Diepe, which had bene alongest this coaste, geveth this testymonie of the people and contrie from 46. to 47. degrees, as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius, fol. 423. pag. secunda: Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amicheuoli, et piaceuoli. La terra è abbondantissima d'ogni frutto ; vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua saluatica et molte altre sorti

A capitaine
of Diepe.

Oranges,
Almondes,
Grapes.

d'arbori odoriferi; la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

Stephen Bel-
linger.

Muske, called
Castor.

Excellent
colours for
dyenge.

The Marques
de la Roche,
1584.

This coaste, from Cape Briton CC. (200) leagues to the south west, was again discovered at the chardges of the cardinall of Burbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, the laste yere, 1583. whoe founde a towne of fourscore houses, covered with the barkes of trees, upon a rivers side, about C. leagues from the aforesaid Cape Briton. He reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyañ. He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gave me some; a kynde of muske called castor; divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dere skynnes, all dressed, and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon, — all which thinges I sawe; and divers other marchandize he hath which I saw not. But he told me that he had CCCC. and xl. crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the savages, stooode him not in fortie crownes. And this yere, 1584. the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundreth men to inhabite in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC. tonnes was caste awaye over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij. C. leagues within the lande even to Hochelaga, is notably described in the twoo voyadges

of Iacques Cartier. In the fifte chapiter of his sec-
 onde relation thus he writeth: From the 19. till the
 28. of September wee sailed upp the ryver, never loos-
 inge one houre of tyme, all which space wee sawe as
 goodly a contrie as possibly coulde be wisshed for, full
 of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say, oakes, elmes,
 walnut-trees, cedars, fyrres, asshes, boxe, willoughes,
 and greate store of vynes, all as full of grapes as coulde
 be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare, they
 came home laden with them. There are likewise
 many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesautes,
 partridges, thrusshes, black birdes, turtles, finches, redd
 brestes, nightingales, sparrowes, with other sortes of
 birdes even as in Fraunce, and greate plentie and store.
 Againe in the xith chapiter of the said relation there
 ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that
 is three monethes saylinge, navigable southwarde from
 Hochelaga; and that redd copper is yn Saguinay.
 All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde
 and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd
 dere, fallowe dere, beares, and other suche like sorts
 of beastes, as conies, hares, marterns, foxes, otters, be-
 vers, squirrells, badgers, and rattes excedinge greate,
 and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There
 are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes,
 outardes, wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrussh-
 es, black birdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnets,
 finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrowes,
 and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee
 have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of
 fyshes that ever hath bene seene or hearde of, because

Iacques Car-
tier.

Vynes.

Sylver,
Golde,

Red copper

Staggs,
Dere,
Beares,
Conyes,
Hares,
Martens,
Foxes,
Otters,
Beveres,
Squirrells,
Badgers,
Cranes,
Swannes,
Outardes,
Wild geese
Mallardes,
Thrusshes,
Blackbirds,
Turtles,
Wilde
Pigeons.

that from the heade to the mouthe of yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salte water fyshe, accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses, and adhothuis, which is a kinde of fishe which wee have never seene nor hearde of before. And in the xiith chapiter thus: Wee understoode of Donaconna and others that . . . there are people cladd with clothe as wee are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said firste ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguinay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and, as they have hearde say of those of Saguinay, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnyng and ende thereof. Finally, in the postscripte of the seconde relation, wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye, that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a lande where cynamonde and cloves are gathered.

Golde, and
Redd copper.

A sea of
freshe water.

Cynamon,
Cloves.

Vasques de
Coronado.

Ceuola, a
towne of
CC houses.

And nowe, because hitherto I have spoken of the outwarde coaste, I will also alledge the comodities of the inland, in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the citie of Ceuola, usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado, in the thirde chapter of his Relation, written to Don Antonio di Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, which sente him thither with many Spaniardes and iiij. C. horses and a thousande Indians to discover those contries. He, speakinge there of the citie of Ceuola, procedeth in this manner: In questo doue io sto hora alloggiato possono esserui qualche dugento

case tutte circondate di muro, et parmi che con l' altre che non sono cosi possono arriuare a cinquecento fuochi. V' è vn' altra terra vicina, che è vna delle sette, et è alquanto maggior di questa, et vn' altra della medesima grandezza di questa, et l'altre quattro sono alquanto minori, et tutte io le mando dipinte a vostra Signoria con il viaggio, et pergamino doue va la pittura si trouò qui con altri pergamini . . . hanno mantelli dipinti della maniera che io mando a vostra Signoria, non raccolgono bombaso . . . però ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la mostra; et è vero che si ritrouò nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: . . . et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità . . . si trouaron in vna carta due punte di smeraldi, et certe picciole pietre rotte, che tirano al color di granate, . . et altre pietre di cristallo . . . si trouaron galline . . son buonissime et maggiori che quelle di Messico. . . Si trouò buonissima herba ad vn quarto di legha di quà. . . Mangiano le migliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna parte. . . Hanno buonissimo sale in grano, che leuano da vn lagume che è lunghe vna giornata di quà. . . Vi sono di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, et porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, et certi castrati della grandezza d' un caualllo, con corni molto grandi et code picciole. . . Vi sono delle capre saluatiche, delle quali ho veduto le teste, . . et le pelli de i cingiali. Vi sono cacciagioni di cerui, pardi, caurioli molto grandi . . fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione. Quiui sono certe pelli ben concie, et la concia et pittura gli dan doue vccidon le vacche. In the last chapiter he addeth: Mando a vostra Sig-

Bombase,
Turchine,
Smeraldi.

Excellent
salte.

Shepe,
excedinge
greate.
Apes.

The North
Sea.

Oxen.

Golde and
Sylver.

noria vna pelle di vacca, certe turchine et duoi pendenti d'orecchie delle medesime, et quindici pettini de gl'Indiani, et alcune tauolette guarnite di queste turchine, &c. And for a conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo s'è trouato alquanto oro et argento, che quei che s'intendon di miniera non l'han reputato per cattiuo.

And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in his Generall Historie of the Indies, fol. 297. and 298. in treatinge of the seconde voyage of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Ceuola to Tignes, from Tignes to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quiuira, saieth firste of the contrye about Tignes: Ci sono in quel paese melloni, et cottone bianco et rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre bande delle Indie. And of Quiuira he saieth: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi, è paese temperato de bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, meloni et vue che maturāno benissimo; et vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli; uiddero per la costa navi che portavano arcatrazes di oro et argento per le proe, con mercantie, e credertero ch'erano del Cataio et China: per chè accennavano, che havevano nauigato trenta dì.

Touchinge Newefounde lande, because no man hath better searched it oute, and all the comodities thereof, then those that were there the laste yere, 1583, the space of eightene daies on lande, with Sir Humfry Gilbert, I will make rehersall thereof, as I finde it comitted to printe in a learned discourse, intituled A Trve Reporte of the late Discoueries and Possessyon taken in the Righte of the Crowne of England, of the

Newfounde Landes, &c. The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then Sir Humfry wente to viewe the contrye, beinge well accompanied with moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished with beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisses of sondrye sortes, bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fifte chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumptions, howe vehemente soever, and dwell upon the certentie of suche comodities as were discovered and founde by Sir Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfoundelande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope asshes, in greate plentie, yea, as it is thoughte, ynoughe to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes; and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which have bene there, yt woulde seme incredible.

Pitche, Tarr,
Rosen,
Sope Asshes.

Trayne Oyle.

To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius, a learned Hungarian, borne in Buda, and lately my bedfelowe in Oxforde, wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande, beinge of Sir Humfryes companye: Piscium (saith he, writinge in Latin) in exhausta copia, inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attingit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra universa montana et sylvestris; arbores vt plurimùm pinus et abietes. Herbæ omnes

Stephanus
Parmenius,
of Buda.

Letters the
last yere, in
Latin, out of
Newfounde
lande.

proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secalis. Et facilè cultura et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in siluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. . . . Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, . . . etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiratio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spatium pateret; nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris vnda ex terebinthina, quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est vt nisi pisces qui arefiunt ad solem assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. . . . Aer in terra medicriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ, &c.

Pynes and
Fyrres.

Afterwardes
they sett the
woodds on
fire, which
burnte three
weekes to-
gether.

Greate heate
in New-
founde lande
in sommer.

Jasper Corte-
realis.

Nowe, to passe from Newfoundelande to 60. degrees, I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis, in the thirde volume of the voyadges gathered by Ramusius, fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuouo che corre verso Tramontana et maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile dell' Europa, v' hanno nauigato molti capitani, et il primo (per quel' che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500.v' andò con due carauelle, pen-

sando di trouar qualche stretto di mare, donde per viaggio piu breue, che non è l' andare attorno l'Africa, potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso nauigò tanto auanti, che venne in luogo, doue erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di latitudine trouò vn fiume carico di neue, dalla quale gli dette il nome, chiamandolo Rio Neuado, nè gli bastò l'animo di passar più auanti. Tutta questa costa, che corre dal detto Rio Neuado insin' al porto di Maluas leghe 200. ilqual è in gradi 56. la vidde piena di genti, et molto habitato: sopra laqual dismontato prese alcuni per menargli seco, scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezo la detta costa tutte populate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono huomini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto berrettini, et si dipingono la faccia, et tutto il corpo con diuersi colori per galanteria. Portano manigli d' argento et di rame, et si cuoprono con pelli cucite insieme di martori et d' altri animali diuersi; il verno le portano col pelo di dentro, et la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la maggior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altra cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che n'hanno grandissima copia: et anchora che vi siano diuersi sorti d'uccelli, et di frutti, nondimeno non fanno conto se non del pesce. Le loro habitationi sono fatte di legname, delquale hanno abbondantia per esserui grandissimi, et infiniti boschi, et in luogo di tegole le cuoprono di pelli di pesci, che ne pigliano grandissimi, et gli scorticano. Vidde molti uccelli, et altri animali, massimamente orsi tutti bianchi.

60 degrees.

Rio Nevado.

Dyvers colours.
Silver.
Copper.
Martori et
altri animali
diuersi.

Pesce.

Salmon.

Mightie and
huge woodds.

Mightie fishe.

The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by Frobisher, and in freshe memorye, so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof.

Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testymonies of these credible persons, which were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America, as well on the coaste as within the lande, which affirmed unto the princes and kinges which sett them oute, that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce; precious stones, as turqueses and emrauldes; spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called castor, turpentine; silke wormes, fairer then ours of Europe; white and redd cotten; infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, with their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed; cochenilio, founde laste yere by the men of St. John de Luze, and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge; millions of all kindes of fowles for foode and fethers; salte for fisshinge; excellent vines in many places for wines; the soile apte to beare olyves for oile; all kindes of frutes, as oranges, almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons; all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe; and in New founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and fir trees, asshes, and other like, to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen; and hempe for cables and cordage; and, upp within the Graunde Baye, excedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furies (whereof I sawe twentie thousande French crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe

A singuler
commoditie
for dyenge of
Englishe
clothe.

Plancks for
shippes.
Oares.

Things inci-
dent to a
navy.

Grainer, the kinges skynners); also, suche aboundance of trayne oile to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therewith, — I may well and truly conclude with reason and authoritie, that all the comodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us, may in shorte space for little or nothinge, and many for the very workemanshippe, in a manner be had in that part of America which lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly latitude, if by our slacknes we suffer not the Frenche or others to prevente us.

Sope ashes.

Prevention
to be taken
hede of.

CAP. IV. That this enterprize will be for the manifolde ymployment of numbers of idle men, and for breeding of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our realme.

It is well worthe the observation to see and consider what the like voyages of discoverye and plantinge in the Easte and Weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne; bothe which realmes, beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitaunts, by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres we have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those twoo nations; whereas wee and the Frenche are moste infamous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies. Againe, when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongst them? The reason is, that by these, their newe discoveries, they have so many honest wayes to set them on worke, as they rather wante men then meanes to ymploye them. But wee, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle and lazye persons, for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente, cannot deliver our commonwealthe from multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is, that throughe our longe peace and sel-

dome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of Almightye God) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore ; so that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another ; yea many thousandes of idle persons are within this realme, which, havinge no way to be sett on worke, be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the commonwealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe are miserably hanged, even xx^{ti}. at a clappe oute of some one jayle. Whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety thieves mighte be condempned for certen yeres in the westerne partes, especially in Newefounde lande, in sawinge and fellinge of tymber for mastes of shippes, and deale boordes ; in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche, tarr, rosen, and sope ashes ; in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage ; and, in the more southerne partes, in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade, and yron ; in dragginge for perles and currall ; in plantinge of suger canes, as the Portingales have done in Madera ; in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke, and in dressinge the same ; in gatheringe of cotten whereof there is plentie ; in tillinge of the soile there for graine ; in dressinge of vines whereof there is greate aboundaunce for wyne ; olyves, whereof the soile ys capable,

Idle persons
mutynous,
and desire
alteration in
the state.

A remedy to
all these in-
conveinences.

för oyle; trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes, all which are founde to growe there already; in sowinge of woade and madder for diers, as the Portingales have don in the Azores; in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes; in makinge and gatheringe of salte, as in Rochel and Bayon, which may serve for the newe lande fisshinge; in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole for trayne oile; in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, codde, salmon, herringe; in makinge and gatheringe of hony, waxe, turpentine; in hewing and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges; in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powdringe and barrellinge of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande; in dryenge, sortinge, and packinge of fethers, whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.

Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the realme at home, by this voyadge shal be made profitable members, by employinge them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, which will be very goodd marchandize for those contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof.

And seinge the savages of the Graunde Baye, and all alonge the mightie ryver that ronnethe upp to

Canada and Hochelaga, are greatly delighted with any cappe or garment made of course wollen clothe, their contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, yt is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens, and our Irishe and Welshe frizes and rugges; whereby all occupations belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spynners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers, drapers, hat-ters, and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired.

In somme, this enterprice will mynister matter for all sortes and states of men to worke upon; namely, all severall kindes of artificers, husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, cosmographers, hidrographers, astronomers, historiographers; yea, olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children, by many meanes which hereby shall still be mynistred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes, and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves, withoute surchardginge others. For prooffe of the laste parte of my allegation I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of our Lorde 1564. at what tyme the Flemishe nation were growen, as yt were, to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes, and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to rejecte

our clothes and comodities, a subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden, a man of greate observation, wrote a notable discourse to the younge erles, to take occasion of that present tyme by offer of large privileges in Emden to the Englishe men. In which discourse, the said subjecte, for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge erles, dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22d booke of Sleydans Comentaries, that, anno 1550. Charles the Fifte, then Emperour, would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes; whereaboute there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute of the towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes, could perswade the Emperour from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely, that if the Inquisition came into Andwerpe and the Netherlandes, that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the towne and oute of his contries; and upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profite there came and comoditie grewe by the haunte of the Englishe marchantes. Then was it founde by searche and enquirie, that within the towne of Andwerpe alone, there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of Englishe commodities, besides the gaines that marchantes and shippers with other in the said towne did gett, which was the greatest parte of their lyvinge, which were thoughte to be in nomber halfe as many more; and in all other places of his Netherlandes by the indrapinge of Englishe

woll into clothe, and by the workinge of other Englishe comodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd; which in all amounteth to the number of l*j*.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Emperour whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition. And in the ende of the 45th article of the same discourse, also, he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of the same Emperour in the Netherlandes dyd gaine yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came eche yere oute of England, almoste vi. C. M^{li} I say almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterlinge, besides the gaines they had for sondry other thinges, that were of marvelous somes.

Six hundred
thousand
pounde
gayned yere-
ly by Eng-
lishe wolles.

Nowe if her Majestie take these westerne discoveries in hande, and plante there, yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the Netherlandes, and in tyme moche more; which was the opinion of that excellent man, Mr. Roberte Thorne, extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea, embassador for King Henry the Eighte, in Spaine, with Charles the Emperour, whose wordes are these: And althoughe (saieth he) wee wente not into the said ilandes of spicerye, for that they are the Emperours or Kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way, and comynge once to the lyne equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under the said lyne equinocticall; and also shoulde, yf wee may

passee under the northe, enjoye the navigation of all Tartarye, which should be no lesse profitable to our comodities of clothe, then those spiceries to the Emperour and Kinge of Portingale.

This beinge soe, yt cometh to passe, that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the ilandes of the same, or in other landes, ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they within the circle articke or withoute, all these clothes, I say, are to passe oute of this realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the Base Contries, which is hoped by greate reason, then shall all that clothe passe oute of this realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte by the poore naturall subjectes of this realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth, that the like number of people alleaged to the Emperour shal be sett on worke in England of our poore subjectes more then hath bene; and so her Majestie shall not be troubled with the pitefull outecryes of cappers, knytters, spynners, &c.

And on the other side wee are to note, that all the comodities wee shall bringe thence, wee shall not bringe them wroughte, as wee bringe now the comodities of Fraunce and Flaunders, &c., but shall receave them all substaunces unwroughte, to the ymployment of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this realme in returne. And so to conclude, what in

the number of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to starve, or to begge as they doe.

And to answer objections; where fooles for the Objection.
 swarminge of beggers alleage that the realme is too
 populous, Salomon saieth, that the honour and Answer.
 strengthe of a prince consisteth in the multitude of the
 people. And if this come aboute, that worke may be
 had for the multitude, where the realme hath nowe one
 thousande for the defence thereof, the same may have
 fyve thousande. For when people knowe howe to
 live, and howe to mayneteyne and feede their wyves
 and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as
 nowe they doe. And the soile thus aboundinge with
 corne, fleshe, mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes,
 and frutes, &c., and the seas that envyron the same
 so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme,
 that if the nomber in this realme were as greate as
 all Spaine and Ffraunce have, the people beinge indus-
 trious, I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe
 at the full in all bounty to suffice them all. And
 takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made
 in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne
 thither hides of their owne bestes, tanned and turned
 into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates,
 whereof they have store, into gloves, &c., no doubt
 but wee shall sett on worke in this realme, besides
 sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those
 westerne discovered contries, at the leaste C. M. sub-
 jectes, to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of
 subjectes of forreine princes, enemies, or doubtfull

frendes, and this *absque injuria*, as the lawyers say, albeit not *sine damno*. And havinge a vente of lynnen, as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people, in makinge the same, infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides; which time will bringe aboute, thoughe nowe, for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade, wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

That this voyadge will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Land.

CAP. V.

The cause why the Kinge of Spaine, these three or foure yeres last paste, was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wynne Tercera, and the other small ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the oportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West Indian flete at their returne homewarde, as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke. But the plantinge of twoo or three stronge fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betwene Florida and Cape Briton, woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater damage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania.

Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof, comynge oute betwene Cuba and the Cape of Florida, alonge the gulfes or straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towards the coaste which wee purpose, God willinge, to inhabite; which hapned to them not

twoo yeres past, as Mr. Jenynges and Mr. Smithe, the master and master's mate of the shippe called the Toby, belonging to Bristowe, infourmed me, and many of the chefest merchauntes of that citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste, and sawe the people, which they reported to be bigge men, somewhat in makinge like the Hollanders, and lighted on a towne upon a ryvers side, which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge without controversie, that all southerne and south esterne windes inforce the Spanishe flete returnge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste, and consequently will bringe them into our daunger, after wee shalbe there strongly settled and fortified.

Wee are moreover to understande that the savages of Florida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes, and wilbe ready to joyne with us againste them, as they joyned with Capitaine Gourgues, a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man, and goinge thither at his owne chardges, by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes, which the Spaniardes aboute xx^{ti} yeres agoe had planted in Florida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; which Gourgues slewe, and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the Frenche. Yea, one Holocotera, brother to one of the kinges of the savages, leapinge upp on an highe place, with his owne handes slewe a Spanishe canon-

ier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce ; which storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled *Trois Mondes*.

Also, within the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania, there is a people called Chichimici, which are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers, which have contynuall warres with the Spaniardes, and doe greatly annoyne them. The Spanishe histories which I have reade, and other late discourses, make greate mention of them. Yea, Myles Phillipps, whoe was xiiij. yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Majestie, confesseth this to be moste certaine.

Nowe if wee (beinge thereto provoked by Spanishe injuries) woulde either joyne with these savages, or sende or give them armor, as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe rebels, wee shoulde trouble the Kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a bay as he was never yet helde at. For if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true, that one negro which fledd from his cruell Spanishe master is receaved and made capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici, and daily dothe grevously afflicte them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what damage mighte divers hundreds of Englishe men doe them, beinge growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation.

And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, to witt, our plantinge in those partes and joyn-

inge with those savages, their neighbours, in Florida, and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. Which thinge an Englishe gentleman, Capitaine Muffett, whoe is nowe in Fraunce, tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely, that when he was in Spaine, prisoner, not longe since, he hearde the threasurer of the West Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his master, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto Florida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easely passe farr upp into the lande, and joyne with his enemyes, whereof he stode in contynuall feare; and said moreover, that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towards John Ribaulte and his companie upon his seekinge to settle there.

Fynally, if wee liste not to come so nere Florida, this is a matter of no small momente, that if we fortifie ourselves aboute Cape Briton, nere Newfounde land, partely by the strengthe of our fortification, and partely by the aide of our navye of ffishermen, which are already comaunders of others there, havinge our double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every soodden to cease upon one or twoo hundredth Spanishe and Portingale shippes, which for tenne weekes or three monethes are there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche a bridle to him and suche an advauntage unto us, as wee cannot possibly ymagine a greater. And thus the Frenche served them in the time of Mounsieurs beinge in Flaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure Spanishe and Portingale shippes at ones; and

The benefite
of plantinge
aboute Cape
Bryton or
Newfounde
lande.

more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen, and, namely, one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratcliffe, had not defended them. And hither of necessitie they muste yerely repaire, beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els, excepte on the coaste of Ireland, and at Cape Blancke in Africa, which twoo are nothinge worthe in comparison of this thirde place.

So shall wee be able to crye quittaunce with the Kinge of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye, or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethinke himself that his navye in Newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger, then ours is in his domynions where-soever.

CAP. VI. **That** the mischeffe that the Indian treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Emperour, father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens moste excellent Majestie, leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

It is written in the xxxth article of the discourse before specified, dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden, as followeth, verbatim: With this greate treasure did not the Emperour Charles gett from the French Kinge the Kingdome of Naples, the Duke-dome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? With this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner, and sack the sea of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the Frenche Kinge prisoner, and mayneteyne all the greate warres with Fraunce since the yere of our Lorde 1540. to the yere of our Lord 1560. as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many cities in Italie, as well againste the Pope as againste the Frenche Kinge, as Parma, Florence, and such other? With this treasure did he not overthrowe the Duke of Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyningelande, and other domynions from him, which oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainly

and truly declared hereafter ! With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erldome of Lingen in Westfalia ? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones, your subject, to rebell againste your Graces father and againste you ? The cause you knowe best. And what worke this treasure made amongst the princes and townes in Germany, when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave Van Hessen were taken, Sleydan, our owne countryman, by his Chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure ? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then ? Yes, truly, to moche, as you shall heare. When the Emperor Charles was firste made Emperour, what were the townes and contries in the Netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe and inheritaunce ? There was Brabant, Flaunders, Holland, Zeland, Artoys, and Henego. And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland, howe the Emperour Charles and his progenitors came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doe for the same ; because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River of Rhene at their commaundemente, which is to the greate losse, damage, and daunger of Germanye, as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Emperour Charles was made Emperour. But howe moche hath bene added to the Netherlandes since by him, contrary to his oathe made ? That are these townes and contries, as yt appereth in

Sleydans Chronicle ; viz., Lutzenburge, Lymeburge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and Straite of Vtright, with all the landes in Over Isel, West Frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge lande. And, as before it is saied, he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen, standinge in Westfalia ; and by the like pollicie, with money, he is become the defender of the Erledome of Esons, which is parcell of your Graces countrie of East Frizeland. All these contries and townes, with the treasure of the Netherlandes, hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe Charles the Emperour employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome. The effecte of these treasures which he had oute of the West Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria, in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Emperour Charles, truly prognosticated in the begynnynge, before hande, where he writeth thus unto him : Come therefore and embrace this newe worlde, and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence (I say), moste noble younge Prince, shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your obeysaunce.

And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqueste, and that the Emperour turned them to that use.

To leave the father and to come to the sonne, hath not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all princes and potentates of Europe ? Is it

not he that with his Indian treasure corrupted the *Quinqueviri* in Portingale, that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe, and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, with all the ilandes, townes, and domynions belonging to that crowne? Is it not he that with his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away with Don Antonio, one while by open proclamation, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hath hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life? And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres geven large pensions to nombers of Englishe unnaturall rebelles? Dothe he not supporte the semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne comon wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland, furnished with money, armor, munition, and victualls? Hath not he sente rounde somes of money into Scotland, bothe to the Kinge and those that are aboute him, to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe asse rometh upp and downe laden throughe all Fraunce, and, when it coude not enter into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the courtes of the princes of the Relligion, to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath done and nowe dothe in all the Empire and the Lowe Contries, and is like to worke in other places unlesse speedy order be taken to hinder it,

is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonnde, a Germaine gentleman, in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in Latine, Italian, Frenche, Englishe, and Duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to defende and preserve the same, dedicated to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates.

What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours; wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies. CAP. VII.

Firste, it is to be considered that his domynions and territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine, his chefest force; and farr distante one from another; and are kepte by greate tyrannie; and *quos metuunt oderunt*. And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage given to water, it maketh his owne way; so give but a small meane to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie; which way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideration of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne with the West Indies, as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermined and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe; so this prince, spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe, and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes, their governours. For this Phillippe already owinge many millions, and of

late yeres empai red in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shameful losse of his Spaniardes and dishonors in the Lowe Contries, and by lacke of the yerely renewe of his revenewe, he shall not be able to wage his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes courtes, nor to doe many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the West Indies ; and that wee be not abused with Spanish braggs, and made to beleve what he is not ; and so, drawen into vain feare, suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the West Indies by opinion, then by mighte ; ffor the small manred of Spaine, of itself beinge alwayes at the best slenderly peopled, was never able to rule so many regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the error of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doe ymagine that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaines, allured hither into Britaine, perced the Iland, and planted here and there in the mouthes of rivers and upon straites, and kepte colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at York upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enioyed more of the contries rounde aboute then the Englishe, planted at Bulloine and Calice, did of the Frenche soile adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at comaundement ; even

so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies, and planted here and there very thinlye and slenderlye, withoute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their townes and fortes any nomber to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a prince ; so as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowen to Sir Fraunces Drake, and to Mr. Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (which Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania), and to dyvers others of her Majesties subjectes besides that have been there, that the ilandes there abounde with people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy government of the Spaniarde, and that doe mortally hate the Spaniarde. And they also knowe that the Moores, and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery, have fledd from them into the inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so prevaile, and especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes them selves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the special privledges graunted by Charles, the late Emperour, to the marchauntes, as may plainely appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by Sir Fraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama, to be conveyed into Spaine. And it is thoughte that Sir Fraunces Drake and some other Englishe are of so greate credite with the Symérons and with those that mayneteyne those frontier warrs, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the Base Contries,

with archers and lighte furniture, &c., bringe to passe that, joyninge with those inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governemente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus with small chardge and fewe men, nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there resident, and for the incouragemente of the Symérons, greater effecte may followe then by meetinge with his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twise at the sea; for by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possessinge the same.

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoveries, and there plante and people ryally, and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte, by men or munition, to the Chichimici and the Symérons and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes; which in tyme will, if it be not looked to, bringe all princes to weake estate, that Phillippe, either for relligion or other cause, dothe hate; as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond, in his pithie and moste earnest exhortation to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates to beware of Kinge Philippps ambitious growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the realme swarming with

lustie youthes that be turned to no profitable use), there may be sente bandes of them into the Base Countries in more rounde numbers then are sente as yet. Ffor if he presently prevaile there, at our doores, farewell the traficque that els wee may have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.

If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and with spede and effecte, no doubt but the Spanishe empire falles to the grounde, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude crowe; the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the popingey, and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeous fethers, he will, in shorte space, become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde; with such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapsed to the sea of Rome by the practise of the late Kinge of famous memory, her Majesties father, or by all the former practises of all the Protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond, here after by them to be put in execution. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *neruus belli*, and which he hath almoste oute of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

CAP. VIII. **That** the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as is generally ymagined and surmized, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the Popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

As the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris, that the Portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the Easte Indies above twelve thousande Portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the Kinges capitaines borne in Goa, then presente; and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie, then by any greate force which they had in deede; so the like is to be proved of the Kinge of Spaine in his West Indies; ffor he beinge in those partes exceedinge weake hath nothinge such numbers of people there as is geven oute, neither doe his domynions stretche so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymagined; which hereby easely may appere, seinge he hath no one towne or forte in actuall possession in all Nova Hispania to the northe of the Tropick of Cancer, which standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in Florida; ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan, sett oute twoo yeres paste with all diligence by Ortelius,

Saincte Michael ys the furthest towne nothwarde on the backside of America, and Panuco and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite; as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere, 1584; which three townes above named are under or within the Tropicke of Cancer. And so the Kinge of Spaine hath no footinge beyonde the said tropicke; which is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte, which ymagine, and by some are borne in hande, that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towards the pooles.

Againe, that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere, 1584. published by Ortelius; neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weake they are there, and what simple shippinge they have, and howe daily they be afflicted by the inhabitauntes, Sir Fraunces Drake can tell, and the letters by him intercepted doe declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano, which was fourtene yeres in those partes, writeth, that they holde greate townes, some with tenne, some with sixe, some with foure, and some with twoo souldiers, and that they comaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footinge there.

Seinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barennes, desolation, and wante of men in Spaine, together with these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thousandes of them in the Lowe Contries, muste nedes confesse that they have very simple forces there. The provinces which he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any empire since the creation of the worlde. Some of his contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder, also helde by tyranie, that in deede upon the due consideration of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be. And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche a masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the Frenche kinge, of one onely kingdome, with his onely people of Fraunce, were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

The example
of Antigonus.

It is written that Antigonus, beinge to fighte againste certaine of his enemyes, they appered a farr of to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them; but, beinge incouraged by his valour, they easely overthrewe them in a conflicte; whereof he stripped one or twoo, which, beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes; which, when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the

Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves, that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crowes.

This which I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America may more easelie appere by this note followinge, gathered by an excellent Frenche capitaine moste experte and privie to the state and force of the islandes, havens, townes, and fortes of all that parte of America which lieth upon our ocean ; which excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the inlande is moche more weake and unmanned.

CAP. IX. **T**he names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. **O**uer againste the ilande of Margarita there is a towne called Cumana, wherein is greate store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the towne, which onely dragge perles. This towne is the farthest eastwarde which the kinge hath on the north side of India. It is environed with their enemyes, viz., the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this towne to Margarita.

2. The next towne westwarde is Carakas, which is very riche of golde. This towne standeth upon the sea, and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise with the Indians, their mortall enemyes.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen, and the treasure taken awaye.

4. The nexte towne to the westwarde is called Coro, which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls. This standeth upon the sea. This is a civill contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver, but no golde; and not farr from thence there is a perle house.

There is plentie of victualls, the contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes comaundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he won this towne, and was master of yt three daies, in his laste voyadge.

6. Further westwarde is a towne called Stã Maren, alias Marta, where is greate store of golde, but little victualls. This is envyroned with Indians, enemies to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte towne is Carthagena, where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This towne hath a number of Indians and Symérons to their enemyes. There is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the Southe Sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete, which taketh in halfe their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores, and from thence into Spaine. This towne hath no victualls but suche as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea. By this towne is a gulfe called Gulnata, where the Symérons and Indians have certaine townes, and kepe warres dayly with the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South Sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga, alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls. This is a civill contrie nere to the towne; the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh oute of the Southe Sea, and there is the place where they make their frigotts. There ys little victualls; the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a towne called Hondoras, alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls. This towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This towne hath within a mile greate plentie of Indians, which are at warr with the Spaniardes.

12. Then is there a towne called Porto de Cavallos, where is store of silver, stones, perles, and jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles. To this towne come yerely twoo shippes, that goe from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine with all their riches. This towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the Gulfe Dowse.

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian townes and full of victualls. There is one towne named Vera Crux, to which towne cometh all their treasure from the citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Vlloa, from thence to Havana, and so into Spayne.

FLORIDA.

In Florida the Spaniardes have one towne, called Sancta Helena, where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls. The Floridians be a gentle sorte of people, and use somtymes to heade their arrowes with silver.

There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan, alias Rio de Maio, where, in an iland, standeth a forte which was Ribaults; which river ronnethe throughe the lande into the Southe Sea, from whence greate plentie of treasure is broughte thither. There are small pynnesses that use the same river. It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said river. This is very full of victualls. There was by Peter Melanda a river cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio, so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte with small pynnesses.

A speciall
note of a pas-
sage.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St. Augustine in Bresill, conteyneth in length alongest to the sea side xxj. C. miles, in whiche compasse and track there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale, nor any Christian man, but onely the Caribes, Indians, and saluages. In which places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly ile called Trinidad, conteyninge C. xxth miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and savages borne in the said ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, with divers faire frutes and other comodities. Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. With the kinge of this ilande wee are in league.

The Frenche.

CAP. X. **A** brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the Baye of Mexico, beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what comodities they yelde.

There ys one ilande, as the fleete cometh into the baye, named Margarita, wherein is greate store of perle; a riche ilande full of maiz (which is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woods.

Ouer againste the said iland, northewarde, there is one other iland named St. John de Porto Ricco, which hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited; havinge one citie called Sancto Domingo, which hath a faire haven whereunto many of the shippes of the Kinges fleete come, and there devide themselves. Some goe to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other partes of the mayne lande. This is a frutefull iland for all manner of victuall, hides and suger.

The nexte ilande is called Jamaica, and hath in it greate store of victualls.

The nexte is a faire, greate, and longe iland, called Cuba. This iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, which is the key of all India. It is called the key of India, for that the Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine but that they muste touche there

for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessaries. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the Gulfe of Bahama. This ilande hath greate plentie of victualls, but it is not greatly inhabited.

There be divers other ilandes, riche for victualls, as Aeriaba, Corsal, Marigalante, &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.

Thus you see that in all those infinite ilandes in the Gulfe of Mexico, whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as St. Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, and Havana in Cuba. I may therefore conclude this matter with comparinge the Spaniardes unto a drone, or an emptie vessell, which when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sounde, and that afarr of; but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothinge in them; or rather like unto the asse which wrapte himselfe in a lyons skynne, and marched farr of to strike terror into the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares, and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the forrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if with percinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the West Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colours.

And if any man woulde objecte, that if by his weakenes he had loste the treasure of the West Indies, yet the riches of the Easte Indies woulde holde upp his

heade; I answer, that those contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the Portingale and the Spaniarde, as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the treasure of the West Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

CAP. XI.

So many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people, together with the spoiles of townes, provinces, and kingdomes, which have bene moste ungodly perpetrated in the West Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more then one chapiter, especially where there are whole bookes extant in printe, not onely of straungers, but also even of their owne contrymen (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas, a bisshoppe in Nova Spania); yea suche and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene, that the very rehearsall of them drave divers of the cruel Spanishe, which had not bene in the West Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified:—

Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri mīles Vlissis,
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheless I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what cause the small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes, and to shake of from their shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, which in many places they have already begonne to do of themselves, withoute the helpe of any Christian prynce.

~~This beinge so, I leave it to the depe consideration of the wise, what greate matters may be broughte aboute by our nation, if her Majestie (beinge a mightie prince at sea) woulde put in a foote in that enterprise, and assiste the revolted Indians, Symeons, and Chichimici, after one or twoo yeres plantinge there, and growinge into acquaintaunce and familiaritie with those oppressed nations.~~

Nowe because these moste outergious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas, the bisshoppe above mentioned, and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, which author testi-fieth that to his inspeakeable grefe he was an eye witnesse of many of them, therefore it semeth best unto me to bringe him in, which in his firste chapiter describeth the same in manner followinge: —

Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endewed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entred the Spanishe, incontinent, as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished;

and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, oughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either scene or reade or hearde of the like (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter); so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have scene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the contrie. The Ile of Cuba, which is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day, as it were, all waste. St. John's Ile, and that of Jammaica, bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the north side unto that of Cuba, in nomber beinge above three score ilandes, together with those which they call the Isles of Geant, one with another greate and little, whereof the very worste is fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the contrie the helthsomest in the worlde. There were in some of these isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature; for they have bene all of them slaine, after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more left of the inborne natives of that iland. A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte all these ilandes, to the ende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a

goodd Christian moved with pitie and compassion to conuerte and wyne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde), there were not found but eleven persons, which I sawe. Other iles, more then thirtie, nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene dispeopled and massacred. All those iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande, wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties and cursed doinges, have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne realmes greater then all Spaine, comprisinge therein also Arragon and Portingale; and twise as moche or more lande then there is from Civill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues; which realmes as yet, unto this presente day, remaine in a wildernes and utter desolation, havinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

We are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte, that there is, within the space of forty yeres, by these said tyranies and develishe doinges of the Spaniardes, don to deathe unjustly and tyranously more then twelve millions of soules, men, women, and children. And I verely doe beleive, and thinke I doe not mistake therein, there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules.

Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter.

In the chapiter of Hispaniola it thus followeth:—
Nowe after sondry other forces, violences, and

tormentes which they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them, therefore, hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children. Some other fledd into the mountaines to seperate themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniardes buffeted them with their fistes and bastianadoes, pressinge also to lay their handes on the lordes of the townes. And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and lorde of this ile. Since which time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes, and sett themselves in arms. But what kinde of armes! Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence. Wherefore all their warres are no more warres, then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes with their horses, speares, and launces, began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties. They entred into townes, burroughes, and villages, sparinge neither children nor olde men, neyther women with childe, neither them that laye in; but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces, as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt upp in their folde. They laied wagers with suche as with one thruste of a sworde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the midst, or with one blowe of a sworde moste readily and moste deliverly cut of his heade, or that woulde best perce his entralls at one stroke.

They tooke the little soules by the heeles, rampinge them from their mothers brestes, and crussed their heades againste the cliftes. Others they caste into the rivers, laughinge and mockinge; and when they tombléd into the water, they saied: Nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a one's corps. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they mett, to the edge of the sworde. They made certen gibbets longe and loughe, in such sorte that the feete of the hanged one touched in a manner the grounde; every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our Saviour and his twelve apostles (as they used to speake), and settinge to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whome they used to take and reserve alive, cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied: Go you with those letters to cary tydinges to those which are fled by the mountaines. They mured commonly the lordes and nobilitie on this fasshion: they made certen grates of perches laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe, to the intente that by little and little, yellinge and despairinge in these tormentes, they mighte give up the ghoste. One time I sawe foure or five of the principall lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrns; also I thinke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrns garnished with the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he comaunded to strangle them. The serjeant, which was worse then the

hangman, that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill,) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe putting bulletts in their mouthes, to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire, until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges, and others infinite. And forasmuche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and, mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men, so, withoute all man-hodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankinde, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to teare them in peces at the firste viewe; and, in the space that one mighte say a *credo*, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine. These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmuche as somtymes (thoughe seldome) the Indian put to death some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe of due justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholmewe de las Casas, bisshoppe of the citie of Chiape in the West Indies, where he lyved many yeres.

Bishop Bartholmewe de las Casas, an eye wytnes of these cruelties.

Will you nowe heare one testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whoe was a Papiste and favoured the Spanishe superstition; yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the Historie of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis, fol. 16: At vero vt semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res nouas contra Hispanos

Johannes Metellus Sequanus.

moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia fouendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa Christianæ Reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et inuitis dubio procul militibus Hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis nouorum dominorum in miseros immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplebilem auaritiam, et ex his grauiores quosque tumultus, vnde noui orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam.

Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites Hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, vt ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, vt seruos suos grauissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentoue effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid leuioris denique delicti perpertrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, cœnæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transuerso palo reuinciebant: mox chorda bubaloue neruo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleoue feruenti guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus abluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animaduertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos seruos domi familiaris esse dicitur. Post carnificinam huiusmodi, si durior dominus illis contigerat, viuos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non raro accidit, dominus singula seruorum capita regi in occisorum locum sufficiens, ab homicidij pœna liberabatur. Hanc

crudelitatem lege Baionæ, quam dicunt, quidem excusant; sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis expers. Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos iure quidem obtinuit. Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos excercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sæuities, multis iam bellis exasperata, plerosque habendi sitis, impulit. Hinc Hispanus miles, quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, iam inde ab inuento nouo orbe ferri cœpit. Aut igitur bello captos in seruitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum mancipio magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflabat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat. Fuere qui seruos fodinis manciparint, in quibus insolito labore fractæ, multæ seruorum myriades periire. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt, alioque modo distrahere. Idque tam inclementer et auare nonnulli fecerunt, vt Christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos vtriusque sexus homines, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, nauibus in vicinas insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueuerant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, fœtore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? quod fæminæ complures ex Hispanis grauidæ, vna cum innoxio fœtu pro ancillis sunt venditæ? Atque his quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes peruenerunt. Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti. Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, vt inuenti sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam in-

signem nostrum hominum iniustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a longe beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the Spanishe nation in every place of the West Indies moste heynously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, vt ea non solum Indos, verum etiam seruorum Maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam insula ad septem millia defecisse. Quos Hispani initio securos et incautos facillime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantiores factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius quam armis frustra tentassent. Multi denique fugitiui Mauri in Nominis Dei provinciae siluis habitant; qui inita cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque Hispanos vbicunque persequuntur, et inuentos frustatim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses, that those contries whereof the Spaniarde ys lorde are partely ruinated, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible, and more then barbarous, and savage, endeles cruelties, and partely grevously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted; and consequently he is easie to be driven thence, and turned out of all with moche lesser force then is commonly ymaged: for, Nullum violentum est diuturnum; et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus.

And surely the more I thinke of the Spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the empire of Alexander the Greate, which grewe upp sooddenly,

The Spanishe monarchy is like unto the monarchy of Alexander the Greate.

and sooddenly upon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the Kinge of Spaine, nowe 59.yeres of age, as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526. in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life ; and leavinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a governemente, and a question risinge, whether his younge weake sonne, by his sister's daughter, be lawfull heire, they are like upon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongst themselves ; and then, as men moste odious, not onely to the people of the West Indies, but also to all Christendome, and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that every province will seke their libertie? And, to say the truthe, what nation, I pray you, of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde, the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forward, and for advantage? The Italians, which sometime were lordes of the earthe, in greate parte nowe broughte under his vile yoke, doe many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insolencies, and in all their playes and comedies bringe in the Spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus* ; notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride, and shamefull vaine glorie. The citie of Rome, beinge sackte by Charles the Emperour, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned, cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The Venecians stande daily in feare of them, almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubteth that, if they be not with spede restrained,

they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure, beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberault. The Frenche, remembringe the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in Florida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete, their takinge of Tercera, and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then scorpions. The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia; the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere, have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies. His innumerable outrages in the Netherlandes have inforced the Flemynges to those termes which nowe they stande at. Their manifolde practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to be-thinke ourselves, howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes. The poore oppressed prince and people of Portingale doe watche nighte and day when to finde a convenient occasion of defection. In fine, there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde with the poet: *Distuleratque graues in idonea tempora pœnas*; and so, *Eum multos metuere necesse est quem multi metunt*; and, *Multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest*.

That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde; that Ireland, beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more civilitie. CAP. XII.

In this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe the burnte zone, nor to passe throughe the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate unto a contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not, as longe voyadges doe, the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes. Whereby the marchante nede [not] to expecte twoo or three yeres for one returne, as in the voyadge of Sir Fraunces Drake, of Fenton and William Hawkins; but may receive twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes, I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls; which thinge I myselfe have seene and understoode in Ffraunce this presente yere don by the Frenchemen; whoe, settinge furthe in January, broughte their banke fishe which they tooke on the Bancke, forty or three-score leagues from Newfoundelande, to Roan, in greate quantitie, by the ende of May, and afterwarde returned this yere againe to the fisshinge, and are looked for at

home towards the fifte of November. To the speddy perfourmaunce of which voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce: that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde suffiseth to make this; which was no doubt the cause of the quicke returne of my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoe departed from Newhaven in January was twelve monethes, ar-ryved at Cape Briton in xx^{ti} daies space, and from thence discouered very diligently CC. leagues towards Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelue places; founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home, with a diligent description of the coaste, in the space of foure monethes, with many comodities of the contrie, which he shewed me.

Moreover this passage is neither by the Straites of Giberaulter, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, nor Flanders, neither by the Sounde of Denmarke, nor Wardhouse in Norway; so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the corsaries in the Levant, nor of the gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the Frenche, nor the Dane, nor of any other prince nor potentate within the Sounde in the northe, or in the northeaste partes of the worlde.

Wee may also travell thither and perfourme the same at all times of the yere, with the like facilitie as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouth, and other partes of the West Contries travell for woade to the

iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (which are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. For this coaste is never subjecte to the ise, which is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande.

Besides this, in our way as wee passe to and froe, wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide, and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoy the enemyes to Ireland, and succour the Queens Majesties faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie; and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever comodities they now receave at the handes of the Spaniardes. So the Spaniardes shall wante the ordynary victualls they receave every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque, nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governement there as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doe daily, to the greate expences of her Majestie, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state.

And to conclude: in tradinge to these contries wee shall not nede, for feare of the Spanishe bloudy Inquisition, to throwe our bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the Spanishe searchers, to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of Almightye God, as we are driven to continually in followinge our ordinary trafficque into the Kinge of Spaines domynions; whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde chapter.

CAP. XIII. **That** hereby the reuenewes and customes of her Majestie, bothe outwarde and inwarde, shall mightely be enlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which withoute oppression may be rayсед.

The manifolde testimonies, verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapiter, of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis, and others, which all were the discoverers of the coaste and inland of America betwene 30 and 63 degrees, prove infallibly unto us that golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and turqueses, and emraldes, and many other commodities, have bene by them founde in those regions. To which testimonies I shoulde have added many more yf I had not feared to be tedious. Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforenamed comodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge yerely reserved unto her Majestie, accordinge to the tenor of the patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xjth yere of his raigne to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius; the wordes whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe, as they are printed in my booke of voyadges. These are the wordes: *Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, prefatus Jóannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur, et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad*

portum nostrum Bristolliae applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti), deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecuniis, persolvere.

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse, havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines revenewes, which he nowe hath oute of all his domynions in all the West Indies.

The like in all respectes may be saied of the revenewes of the Crowne of Portingale, which, beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome, became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that, before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their ambassadors woulde strive and challenge for the chefest place with the embassadores of the greatest kinges of Christendome; as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my lordes table by men of greate honour and experience, in which citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their ambassadors comonly resident.

To leave them and to come to our nation, I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Majesties customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shippes beinge harde at hande, and bearinge the sway already amongst all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande, and what by the fortes that

there may be erected and helde by our people, wee shall be able to inforce them, havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us suche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them; which imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely with sondry sortes of fishe, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furies and hides, cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales, but also of the Frenche men, our olde and auncient enemyes. What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes, Welshe frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the lande amonge the Esquimawes of the Grande Bay, and amonge them of Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga, which are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their somers be hotter moche then oures. Againe, the multitudes of small yron and copper workes, wherewith they are exceedingly delighted, will not a little encrease the customes, beinge transported oute of the lande. I omitt the rehersall of a thousande other triflinge wares, which, besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them, would also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes. Lastly, whatsoever kind of commodities shoulde be broughte from thence by her Majesties subjectes into the realme, or be thither transported oute of the realme, cannot choose but inlarge the renewes of the Crowne very mightely, and inriche all sortes of subjectes in generally.

That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce, and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same. CAP. XIV.

In the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of our navigation in the raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seconde, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, Kinge Henry the Eighth, and her Majestie that nowe ys, thoughe many and sondry rewardes were proposed to incourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, notwithstandinge so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen, the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulde take at sea, yea, albeit there hath bene graunted a certen proportionable allowaunce oute of the exchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr, yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe. For, settinge the Citie of London aparte, goe your way into the west parte of England and Wales, and searche howe many shippes of CC. tonnes and upwardes those partes can afforde, and you shall finde (God wotteth) no such number as at the firste you did ymagine. At this day I am assured there are scarce twoo of CC. tonnes belonginge to the whole

citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the channell of Severne from Gloucester to the Landes Ende on the one side, and Milforde Haven on the other. Nowe, to remedie this greate and unknowen wante, no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our greate shippinge then this Westerne fortifienge and planting. For in this action wee are not to cutt over the narrowe seas, in a day or a nighte, betwene Flaunders, Fraunce, or Ireland, in small barkes of xx. or xxx.^{ti} tonnes; but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine ocean, and to lye at sea a moneth or six weekes together, whereby wee shall be constrayned of our selves, withoute chardginge of the Prince, to builde greate shippes, as well to avoide the daunger of tempest as also for the commoditie of portage, whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, which the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience, whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. vij. viij. C. and a M. tonnes, to sende into their Easterne and Westerne Indies.

The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothinge, that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. For beinge possessed of Newfounde lande, which the laste yere was seized upon in her Majesties name, wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workmanship of the same. All which comodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the build-

inge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrights of the worlde, whereof some, for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes, as into Denmarke. Moreover, in the judgements of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breede more skilfull, connynge, and stowte pilotts and maryners then other belonginge to this lande. For it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate clymates, as those of the Portingales into their West Indies) that harden seamen, and open unto them the secretes of navigation; the natures of the windes; the currentes and settinge of the sea; the ebbing and flowinge of the mayne ocean; the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiaall planetts, and force which they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body: whiche skill in sea causes the Emperour Charles the Fyfte, knowinge howe moche yt did ymporte his state, to the intente it mighte better encrease amongst the Spaniardes, in greate providence erected a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the West Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and, upon due examynation, were allowed as sufficient by him, and others adjoynd unto him as assistantes to examyn matters of experience; which order, if it had bene established in England, such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste awaye the Admirall of Sir Humfryes company, with an C. persons in her, to the west of Newfounde lande, this

A lecture of
the arte of
navigation.

tyme twelve moneths, had not bene admitted to take so greate a chardge.

But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our shippes and shippmen ; I say this is not as the voyage to Muscovy, which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe. Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy, wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a yere. For here there is a greate hope, the contrie beinge as bigge as all Europe, and nothinge in frutefulness inferior to yt, as I have proved before at large in the thirde chapiter, that wee shall have twoo flectes as bigge as those of the Kinge of Spaine to his West Indies, imployed twise in the yere at the leaste, especially after our fortifieng in the contrie, the certen place of our factory beinge there established ; whereby yt muste nedes come to passe that our navye shalbe mightely increased and mayneteyned, which will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayneteynaunce of many masters, maryners, and seamen, whereby they, their wyves and children, shall have their lyvings, and many cities, townes, villages, havens, and creekes nere adjoyninge unto the sea coaste ; and the Queenes subjectes, as brewers, bowchers, smithes, ropers, shipwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and other victuallers and handicraftes men, inhabitinge and dwellinge nere thereaboutes, shall also have by the same greate parte

of their lyvinge. For prooffe hereof wee nede not to seeke any further then unto our neighboures of Spaine and Portingale; whoe, since the firste discoverie of their Indies, have not onely mightely enlarged their domynions, marveilously inriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, masters, and maryners,—a matter of no small momente and importance; insomuche that nowe, of late, Kinge Philippe hath made the Marques de la Cruz, which laste yere wonne Tercera, Graunde Admirall of the Ocean Sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa, Admirall in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves, even by our trade of fisshinge in Newfoundelande; which, as yt is well knownen, hath bene occasion, that in sondry places of this realme divers tall shippes have bene builde and sett furthe even of late daies; and more woulde be if, whereas nowe haveinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawen more south-westerly, where the speciall fisshinge places are, bothe for plentie and greateness of fishe; and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nerenes unto our fortes there, builde aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbour-hood be themselves in more securitie.

Fynally, their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers, as they are in all other trades of

Marques de la Cruz, Admirall of the Ocean.

A meane to avoide the sodden arrestes of our navy.

Christendome; but shoulde enjoye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doe in their native contrie; the havens, townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjects; which freedome and liberty will greatly incourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

That speedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries, for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations which have the like intention, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged. CAP. XV.

Havinge by Gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happily this presente westerne discoverie, after the seekinge the advauncement of the kingedome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, which consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other comodities of England, and in receaving backe of the nedefull comodities that wee nowe receive from all other places of the worlde. But forasmoche as this is a matter of greate ymportaunce, and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at, this one thinge is to be don, withoute which it were in vaine to goe aboute this; and that is, the matter of plantinge and fortificacion, withoute due consideracion whereof in vaine were it to think of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable rivers which are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our colonies. And so beinge firste settled in strengthe with men, armour, and mu-

nition, and havinge our navy within our bayes, havens, and roades, wee shall be able to lett the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same with freshe men, as the soodden feightes shall require; and by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoye suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve; and shalbe able with our navye to sende advertisemente into England upon every soodden whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable ryvers may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, barkes, barges, and boates into the inland with all the comodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the comodities of the inlandes that wee shall receive in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England. And thus settled in those fortes, yf the nexte neighbours shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may, upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon the rivers with our shippes, pynnesses, barkes, and boates, and enter into league with the petite princes, their neighbours, that have alwayes lightly warres one with an other, and so entringe league nowe with the one, and then with the other, wee shall purchase our owne safetie, and make ourselves lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise, withoute this plantinge in due tyme,

wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language, manners, and customes of the people of those regions, neither shall wee be able thoroughly to knowe the riches and comodities of the inlandes, with many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And although by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the French that swarme with multitude of people, or other nations, mighte secretly fortifie and settle themselves before us, hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge: and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes; wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine.

To make this plaine by example, in the sixte leafe of the Italian edition of the Historie of Fernando Cortes, written by Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, is lively described the folly of John Grijalua for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche contrie of Iucaton; which ymmEDIATELY after he had neglected, the same Fernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed, and gott all the honour and comoditie from him, leavinge greates wealthe and honour to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The story is thus: Giouan di Grijalua se n'ando a Yucatan, combattete con quelli Indiani di Ciapoton, et se ne ritorno ferito; entro nel fiume di Tauasco, che per questo si chiama ora Grijalua, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di poca valuta molto oro, robbe di cottone, et bellissime cose di penne; stette in San Giouanni di Vlhua, pig-

lio possessione di quel paese per il Re, in nome del Gouvernatore, Diego Velasquez ; et cambio la sua merciaia per pezzi di oro, coperte di cotone et penne ; et si hauesse conosciuto la uentura sua, haueria fatto populatione in paese cosi ricco, come lo pregauano li suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il Cortes. Ma tanta uentura non era riseruata per chi non la conosceua ancora che si scusaua che lui non andaua per popolare, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che leuaua del Gouvernatore ; et scoprire se quella terra di Yucatan era isola o terra ferma. And if any man liste to knowe what intertainement he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same chapiter in these wordes : Et quando arriuò non lo uolse uedere il Gouvernatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritaua.

The like story wee have, fol. 298. of Franciscus Lopez di Gomera his Generall Historie of the West Indies, of Vasques de Coronado, which, after exceedinge greate chardges bestowed for his royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyadge to Ceuola and Quiuira, for wante of courage and for other private respectes, neglected plantinge there, had as colde welcome, at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne, of Don Antonio di Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, as Grijalua had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quiuira : —

Cascò del cauallò in Tiguez Francisco Vasquez, e con il colpo uscì di ceruello et disuariuaua ; questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'hebbèro

grandissimo dolore; quelli che l'intendeuano a mala parte stauano male con lui per che non si metteua a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiacque a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fusero ritornati, per che haueua speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa. . . molti uolsero restare là, ma Francesco Vasquez di Coronado, che ricco era et nuouamente maritato con vna bellissima donna, non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne difendere in cosi povero paese et tanto lontani del soccorso; caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa giornata.

Notwithstandinge these colourable excuses and dispraisings of the contrie, yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi è paese temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugnè, more, noci, et melloni, et vue che maturāno benissimo; non c'è cotone, et vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge with spede of goodd contries newe discovered, beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortifie at his firste voyadge, though it were but with thirtie men; which, that you may the better understande, together with the wise course and choice of place which oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes which are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my lorde), saith he, I truste you will not thincke

The chefest
pointe in all
newe discov-
eries.

it amisse (consideringe the comodities that may be broughte thence) yf we leave a number of men there, which may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessarie; for in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don, at the begynnyng to fortifie and people the contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our companie, but many of them offred to tary there; yea, with suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a number did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their importunitie; and namely, of our shippe masters and pilotts, and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit, wee left there but to the number of 30 men in all, gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners, and that at their owne sute and prayer, and of their owne free willes, and by the advise and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have left unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience, and the firste that from the begynnyng offred to tary; and further, by their advise, choice, and will, inscaled and fortified them in an iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious, upon a river which we named Chenonceau, and the habitation and fortres, Charles Forte. After wee had instructed and duely admonished them of that they shoulde doe (as well for their maunier of procedinge, as for the goodd and lovinge behaviour of them), the xjth day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from Porte Royall, &c.

Nowe, to leave the Spaniardes and Frenche and to come to ourselves ; seinge it hath pleased Almightye God at this instant to reveale unto her Majestie and the realme that once againe afreshe which was in parte discovered by Sebastian Gabote and other the subjectes of this lande to her moste famous grandfather, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, and was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland, as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute foure score and sixe yeares — if nowe the Queene, her Counsell, and other subjectes shall never so little delaye the throughe managinge of the cause and entringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late, and a day after the faire ; ffor, as the wise man saieth, *Post est occasio calva*. For, to speake nothinge of the laste yeres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by our men, which preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us, by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the trauers of Burwage, the men of St. John de Luze sent the laste yere to sollicite the Frenche Kinge and his Counsell to plante there. And nowe our neighboures, the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine, in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste, of this yere 1584. are come home with five shippes from Canada and the contries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence, and have broughte twoo of the people of the contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are prepar-

The cause why these discoveries went not forward in Kinge Henry the Seaventhis tyme.



inge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte, as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme; which Mr. Pryhouse, beinge yet in London, was at St. Malowe within these five weekes, and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes, and the riche comodities, and understoode of the greate preparation, and lieth now at London, in Philpott lane, at the stone house there.

And that it may be knowen that not onely the Frenche affecte this enterprise, but even the Duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius, the greate geographer, told me, at his laste beinge in England, 1577. that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the north west straite, before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge into England was to no other ende, but to pry and looke into the secretes of Ffrobishers voyadge; for yt was even then, when Ffrobisher was preparinge for his firste returne into the north west.

To conclude: yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge (and where our men have now presently discovered, and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte, and in truthe more agreable to our natures, and more nere unto us, than Nova Hispania), the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the Duche, or some other nation, will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already,

thoughe wee had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them, but also will deprive us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as God defende they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singuler commodity and inestimable benefite, but also incurr great daunger and inconvenience in sufferinge Papistes, by plantinge rounde aboute us, to take from us all succours, and to lett them enrich themselves under our noses, to be better able to supplant or over-ronne us.

CAP. XVI. *Meanes* to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

Hurry newe enterprise is in the begynnyinge burdenous, chardgeable, and heavie, and moste comonly hath many greate enemies; which is the cause that many goodd men, much affected to their contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise which wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced, specially by our mightie faction of the Papistes), is an enterprize that requireth, beside the favour of the Prince, no small chardge; therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same, that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe with ease, fame, and profitt, withoute shame of all the bymedlers and fauters of the same. And entred into consideration hereof, this cometh to mynde: that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned and borne; for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth honour, credite, profite, and the whole sequele of the enterprize.

Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the Frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with

greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge, by the comodities in trafique that wee shall receave by passinge into the inland by river and otherwise. But admittinge the worse, that the people will neither receave our comodities nor yelde us theirs againe, then wee are to devise of ourselves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaille our chardges, and become greate gayners, will or nill the naturall inhabitantes of those regions or others; and that is, by enjoyning certaine naturall comodities of the landes infinitely aboundinge, in no accompts with them and with us of greate price, which is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste, and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie ryvers, all alonge many hundreth miles into the inland, are infinitely full fraughte with swete wooddes of ffyrr, cedars, cypres, and with divers other kindes of goodly trees; and settinge upp mylles to sawe them, suche Sawe milles. as be common in Poland and in all the north easte regions, wee may with spede possesse infinite masses of boordes of these swete kindes, and these frame and make ready to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, tables, deskcs, &c., upon the returne. And consideringe the present wante of tymber in the realme, and howe derely the cipres chestes are solde that come from the ilandes of the Levant seas, and lately from the Azores, to Bristoll and the westerne havens, these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes of the realme and

of the realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that in this age every man desireth to fill his house with all manner of goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculiar comodities, this onely, I say, were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of all the begynnynge of the enterprize, and that oute of hande ; for suche mylwrightes may easly be procured from suche places where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England ; for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill within these xxx^{ti} yeres was sett upp in Worcestshere by a knyghte of that contrie. And one man onely were able to directe a thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade ; and carpinters and joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a nede.

And with like ease and shortenes of time wee may make of the wooddes there pitche and tarr, which are thinges fitt for our navie, and marchandizes of goodd vente and of comon neede.

And with like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plentie of sope asshes, a comoditie very dere and of greate and ample vent with us, and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europe. Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chasinge staves, oares, halberts, and the like for cullen cleftes for sundry uses, &c. And also wee may there, withoute payenge for the same, have tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into this realme, and have goodd sale of the same.

All this, I say, may be broughte to passe if wee wisely plante, upon our arryvall, aboute the mouthes

of greate rivers and in the ilandes of the same ; and so wee shall have the starte before the Frenche and all others ; and our people, sente thither for the purposes afore[saide], shall be ready to man our shippes to give repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett foote to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemente, the firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate honour and highe estymation with all degrees in England, and, havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte of thenterprise, they stande full able to followe the same withoute cravinge aide of the lingring marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque with the people, which they may bringe aboute eyther with curtesie, or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge nowe with this petite kinge, and nowe with that, &c.

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citezen or contryman, will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of our clothes, to the purchasing of riche comodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren, to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes ? And greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynge geveith abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers comodious places even at the firste.

CAP. XVII. That by these colonies the north west passage to Cathaio and China may easely, quickly, and perfectly be searched oute as well by river and overlande as by sea; for prooffe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testimonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius, and other grave authors.

In the thirde volume of Nauigations and Voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius, fol. 417. pag. 2, I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe, if this misfortune had not appened unto him (with the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured with the greate liberalitie of Kinge Fraunces), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of lande even to the poole. Neither woulde he have contented himselfe with the outeside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp within the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked with him have told me, that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the Frenche Kinge to sende oute of Fraunce a goodd number of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste, which be of ayre temperate, and of soile moste fertile, with very faire ryvers, and havens able to receave any navie. The inhabitants of which

places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes ; and, amongst other, to reduce those poore, rude, and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of God and true relligion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion contries ; and in time mighte discover the partes within lande, and see if, amongst so many ilandes there be any passage to the Southe Sea, or whither the firme lande of Fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.

Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thinke it not amisse to alleage those testimonies tendinge to the prooffe of this longe desired north west passage, which, with no small care these many yeres, I have observed in my readings and conferences concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste authoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius, in the discourse of the discoverie of the ilandes Freseland, Iseland, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria, made in the northe by Sir Nicholas Zeñy, Knighte, and Mr. Anthony, his brother, in the yere 1380. In which discourse, amonge many other thinges tendinge to the prooffe of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scoprirono vna isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu di mille miglia ; whereof I gather, that whereas still he calleth Estotiland an ilande, and that it is distant westwarde from Frislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth miles further then Frobisher and his companie discouered. Ffor

he himself confesseth that he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of Ffriselande ; and here is mention made, that those fishermen that discovered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this north west passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde volume, where he alleageth, in manner followinge, that which Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter : Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote, our contryman, a Venecian, and a man of greate experience, and very singuler in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova Francia, at the chardges of Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge of England ; and he signified unto me, that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde those ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an half] under the north pole, on the xjth day of June, and findinge the sea open and withoute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia, which is in the easte ; and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and unruly mariners had not inforced him to returne homewards from that place. But it semeth (saith Ramusius), that God doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, which, for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe, woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this

enterprize woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine, to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres, which are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.

3. Thirdly, the reporte which the people of Hochelega made to Jaques Cartier, in the viijth chapter of his seconde relation, of the river three monethes navigable to the southewarde, dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. Fourthly, the relation of the people of Canada in the xijth chapiter, followinge on this manner: Moreover they tolde us, and gave us to understande, that there are people cladde with clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande, beyonde the river firste above mentioned, even to Hochelega and Saguenay, there is an ile environed aboute with that and other rivers, which beyonde Saguenay entreth into twoo or three greate lakes; also that there is founde a sea of freshe water, the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had throughly searched, as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. Fyftly, in the ende of that seconde relation this postscripte is added as a speciall pointe, to witt: that they of Canada say that it is the space of a moone

(that is to say a moneth) to saile to a lande where cynamon and cloves are gathered; and in the Frenche originall which I sawe in the Kinges Library at Paris, in the Abbay of St. Martines, yt is further put downe, that Donnaconna, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traveled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had; yea, and the names whereby the savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly, this passage is likewise proved by the double reporte of Vasques de Coronado. For firste, he beinge at Ceuola, which standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place: Fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione; whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys within viij. daies journey of Ceuola. Againe, when he was afterwardes at the towne of Quiuira, which is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees, he founde there shippes with maryners, which had the pictures of a birde, called Alcatrazzi, in silver upon their bonnetts and on the forepartes of their shippes; which signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place; whence it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China, seinge there is none but Spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Noua Spania.

7. Seavently, the people of Florida, at the River of May, in 30. degrees, signified to John Ribault and his company, that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the contrie by ryver to Ceuola in xx.th

daies. These are the wordes, viz.: As wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the towne of Ceuola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence, and is scituated within the lande, and towardes the sea called Mare del Sur), they shewed us by signes, which wee understoode well ynoughe, that they mighte goe thither with their boates, by rivers, in xxth daies.

8. Eightly, Don Antonio di Castillo, embassador to her Majestie from Henry the Kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London, the yere before his departure, that one Anus Corteriall, Capitane of the Ile of Terceira, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe to discover the northwest passage, which, arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude, founde a greate entraunce very depe and broade, withoute impedymente of ise, into which they passed above xxth leagues, and founde it alwayes to tende towardes the southē. The lande lay lowe and plaine on either side. They woulde have gon further, but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, with hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage, whereof they sawe not small likelyhoode.

9. Nynthly, Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, shewed me in Paris this present somer, a greate olde rounde carde (out of which Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe), that had the northwest straite plainly sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly, there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to

Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, makinge a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much like the streyte necke or istmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke.

11. Eleventhly, there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster, which also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe sides, as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singuler importaunce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely.

12. Twelvethly, the judgemente of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, which his sonne, Rumolde Mercator, shewed me in a letter of his, and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded. These were his wordes: *Magna tametsi pauca de noua nauigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque. In quod regnum, si recte nauigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc idololatri Christi nomen communicabunt.* You write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters, thoughe very brefely, of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not these many yeres heretofore attempted; ffor there is no doubte but there is a streighte and shorte waye open into the west, even to Cathaio. Into which

kingdome, if they governe their voyadge well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be knowen to many idolaters and heathen people.

13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Leau, an honest gent of Morleux, in Britaine, which tolde me this springe, in the presence of divers Englishe men at Paris, that a man of St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the back side of Hochelaga.

14. Moreover, the relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same ; for, as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writinge, he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the North Sea.

15. Againe, the prohibition which Kinge Phillippe hath made, that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northe wardes of 45. degrees, may seme chefully to procede of these two causes : the one, leaste passinge further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our Northerne Sea ; the other, because they have not people ynoughe to possesse and kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly, I will ende with the earnest petition and constant assertion of Ramusius, in his firste volume, fol. 374. where, speakinge of the severall waies by which the spicery, bothe of olde and of late yeres, hath bene broughte into Europe, he useth these speaches in the person of another : Why doe not the princes (saieth he), which are to deale in these affaires, sende

furthe twoo or three colonies to inhabite the contrie, and to reduce this savage nation to more civilitie, consideringe what a battle and frutefull soile it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, howe it is stored with all kinde of birdes and beastes, with such faire and mightie rivers, that Capitaine Cartier and his companie in one of them sailed upp an C. and ^{xx}_{iiij}. leagues, findinge the contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate aboundaunce; and, moreover, to cause the gouvernours of those colonies to sende furthe men to discover the northe landes aboute Terra de Labrador, and west north west towards the seas, which are to saile to the contrie of Cathaio, and from thence to the ilandes of Molucka. These are enterprises to purchase ymmortal praise, which the Lord Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, willinge to put in execution, sente furthe his capitaines, bothe by sea and lande, upon the northwest of Noua Spania, and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven cities aboute Ceuola; and Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towards the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea which lieth betwene Cathaio and America, where he mett with the Cathaian shippes; and, no doubt, if the Frenche men, in this their Nova Francia, would have discovered upp further into the lande towards the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio.

Thus farr Ramusius.

God, which doth all thinges in his due time, and bath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp

the mynde of her Majestie at length to assiste her moste willinge and forward subjectes to the perfourmaunce of this moste godly and profitable action ; which was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vijth her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the Eighte, her father, and lefte, as it semeth, to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon), to the makinge of her realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selfe moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

CAP. XVIII. **T**hat the Queene of Englandes title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.

To confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the West Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Majesties title and of her noble progenitours, if not to all, yet at leaste to that parte of America which is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order, accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the West Indyes, with the ilandes and continent of the same, were firste discoured and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particulerly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the Sixte, a Spaniarde borne, of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine and their successors, to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the damage of the Kinges of England.

Ffor the firste pointe, wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall chronicles, written in the Welshe or Brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales, beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his contrie, made twoo

voyadges oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large contries which he founde in the mayne ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170. This historie is also to be seene in Englishe in printe, in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Princes of Wales, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney. And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the Grande Bay of Newfoundland, whose language is said to agree with the Welshe in divers wordes and names of places, by experience of some of our nation that have bene in those partes. By this testimonie it appereth, that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge, which was in the yere 1492.

Secondly, the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh, at the very firste, maketh moche for the title of the Kinges of England, althoughe they had. no former interest; which I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh chapiter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the relation of the life and doinges of his father: This practise, saith he, of the Kinge of Portingale (which was secretly to deprive him of the honour of his enterprise), beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall, and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceived so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile with a younge sonne that he had by his wife, called Diego Colon, which

after his fathers deathe succeeded in his state. But fearinge, yf the Kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprise, he shoulde be constrained to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spent therein, he sente into England a brother of his which he had with him, named Bartholmewe Columbus. Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates, which robbed him, and his other companions that were in his shippe, of all that they had. By which occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes, which cruelly afflicted him in a strange contrie, he deferred for a longe space his embassage, till, havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize with Kinge Henry the Seaventhe, the father of Kinge Henry the viijth which nowe reigneth; to whome he presented a general carde, wherein these verses were written, which I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie :

Terrarum quicunque cupis feliciter oras
 Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit
 Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque
 Isidorus : non vna tamen sententia cuique.
 Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
 Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti,
 Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

And somewhat more beneath he saied :

Pro authore sive pictore.

Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
 Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud
 Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
 Octauo, decimâque die cùm tertia mensis
 Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

But to returne to the Kinge of England ; I say that after he had sene the generall carde, and that which the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer with a cherefull countenance, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne judges, but are able to prove, as you see, by a forren testimonie of singuler greate auctoritie, that Christopher Columbus, beinge in Portingale, before he wente into Castile, sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise with Kinge Henry the Seaventh aboute the discoverie of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London, in the yere of our Lorde 1488. the xiiijth of February, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine, Ferdinando and Isabella, which was the thirde of Auguste, 1492. It appereth also, that the onely cause of his slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pyrates, which spoiled him and his companie of all that they had ; whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and seacardes to get somewhat aboute him, that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the Kinges presence. Also, that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the Kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes ; as is further to be seene in the 60 chapter of the same historie, where I reade, that Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed with the Kinge of England upon all capitulations, and returninge into

Spaine by France to fetch his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season with the Kinge of Spaine, and was entred into the action for him, was not a little vexed for his brothers abusing the Kinge of England, which had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer, not receavinge so speddy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England, by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes, as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slacknes or unwillingnes of the Kinge, in the meane season, for feare of beinge prevented by the Portingales, which once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the honour of the action oute of his handes, was stirred, contrary to honesty, to playe on bothe handes, and to deale with the Princes of Spaine before he had receaved the Kinge of Englandes resolucion.

But leavinge this abuse offered to the Kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the Kinges of Spaine, in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes which was firste sente to him, and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered part of the ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove moste plainely, that a very greate and large parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, was firste discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote, a Venetian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496; as an Italian gent, a greate philosopher and mathematitian, wit-

nesseth, which harde the same of his owne mouthe ; and there were many then also lyvinge, which wente with him in that voyadge, which coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise. These be the very wordes of this gent, which he uttered to certain noblemen of Venice upon the disputation concerning the voyadges of the spicerye: Knowe ye not (quoth he) to this effecte, to goe to finde the Easte Indies by the north west, that which one of your citie hath done, which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greatly advaunced him, that the Kinge hath given him the oversight of all the pilotts that saile to the West Indies, so that withoute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the Graund Pilott. This was Segnior Sebastian Gabote, which I went to see, beinge myselfe in Cyvill certain yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me goodd entertainment, he shewed me many singularities which he had ; and amonge the rest, a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the Portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me, that, his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him with him to the citie of London, thoughe he were very younge ; yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied [letters] of humanitie and the sphere ; moreover, that his

father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the West Indies, and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of Kinge Henry the vijth which reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied, that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine, to have founde out that way never knowne before, to goe by the west into the easte. This brute of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the sphere, that, in directinge my course righte towarde the north weste, I shoulde shorten the way greatly to goe to the Easte Indies, without delaye I gave the Kinges Majestie to understande of myne opinion, which was marveylously well pleased; and he furnished me of twoo shippes, with all thinges necessarie; and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnyng of somer. And I began to saile towards the north west, thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towards the Indies. But after certaine daies, I discouraged lande which ronned towards the northe, wherewithall I was exceedingly agreved; notwithstandinge I ceased not to runne alonge that coaste towards the northe, to see yf I coulde finde any gulfe which turned towards the north weste, until I came to the heighte of 56. degrees of our pole. Beinge there, I sawe that the coaste turned towarde the easte, and, beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towarde the equinoctiall, with intention alwayes to

finde some passage to the Indies; and in followinge this coaste I sailed as farr as that parte which at this present they call Florida; and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte, I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved but I founde greate troubles of the people, that were upp in armes by reason of the warres in Scotland; whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration.

The cause
why the dis-
covery was
lefte of in
Kinge Henry
the Seav-
enth's tyme.

Upon this relation, Monsieur Popiliniere, beinge a Frencheman, in his seconde booke, Des Trois Mondes, inferreth these speaches: This, then, was that Gabote which firste discovered Florida for the Kinge of England, so that the Englishe men have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf, to have righte unto a contrie, it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same.

Howbeit, Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente, which was graunted to his father, John Gabot, to Lewes, himself, and Sancier, his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe; and, moreover, he broughte home three of the savages of the Indies, as Fabian, in his ancient Chronicle, dothe write, declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which, he saieth, he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them, twoo yeres after they were broughte into England, in Englishe apparell. Nay, that which is more, Gabota discovered this longe

tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. For the firste parte of the firme lande, called Paria, and Bocca di Dragone, that is to say, the Dragons Mouthe, beinge to the southe of the iland of Hispaniola, was discovered by him in his thirde voyage; which, as Peter Martir de Angleria, which was one of the counsell of the West Indies, wryteth, was in the yere 1498; which is confirmed by Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, which was with his father in the voyage (as Oviedo confesseth, libr. 19. cap. 1.), and wrote a journall of that voyage, shewing, in the 67. chapter of his historie, that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the cotype whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London. In which mappe, in the chapter of Newfoundland, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista; and Mr. Roberte Thorne, in his discourse to Doctor Ley, Kinge Henry the Eightes embassador to Charles the Emperour, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott, of Bristoll, were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves, thoughe full sore againste their willes, are

N f land
discoverd.

constrained to yielde unto us therein. For Francis-
cus Lopez de Gomera, in the 4. chapter of his seconde
booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, confesseth
that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste
of the West Indies, from 58. degrees of northerly lati-
tude to the heighte of 38. degrees towards the equi-
noctiall. He whiche broughte moste certeine newes
of the contrie and people of Baccalaos, saieth Gomera,
was Sebastian Gabot, a Venesian, which rigged up
ij. shippes at the coste of Kinge Henry the Seaventh
of England, havinge greate desire to traficque for the
spices as the Portingales did. He carried with him
CCC. men, and tooke the way towards Island from
beyonde the Cape of Labrador, untill he founde him-
selfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation
that, in the moneth of July, it was so colde and the
ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further ;
that the daies were very longe, in a manner withoute
any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had
it was very clere. Gabot, feelinge the colde, turned
towards the west, refreshinge himselfe at Baccalaos ;
and afterwardes he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38
degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to
returne into England.

Moreover, this Fraunces Lopez de Gomera ac-
knowledgeth, in his firste booke and xxjth chapter of
his Generall Historie of the Indies, that Columbus,
on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St. Lucar of
Barameda, in Spaine, in the ende of May, *anno* 1497.
In which thirde voyadge, at lengthe, after many
greate dangers by the way, he arryved in the firme

lande of the Indies, towards the province called Paria, which all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the Kinges of Spaine.

So to conclude; whether wee beleve the testimonie of Peter Martir and Ferdinandus Columbus, which affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste *in anno* 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabot and the Englishe above twoo yeres before, to witt, in the yere 1496, in the moneths of June and July; or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera, which saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande, 1497; yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them, to witt, 1496. or, as Clement Adams saieth, 1494. in the chapiter of Gabotts mapp *De terra nova*, which is above three yeres before the Spaniarde, or any other for the Kinges of Spaine, had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise, by Gomera his owne confession, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towards the equinoctiall, we have beste righte and title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce of Leon, beinge *in anno* 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our title, as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyage.

An answer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies CAP. XIX.
 graunted to the Kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the
 VIth, whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

Wheras Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. chapter of his firste booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, putteth downe that Pope Alexander the VIth, of his proper will and of his owne mere motion, with the consente of his Cardinalls, gave of his free grace to the Kinges of Spaine all the iles and firme landes which they shoulde discover towards the west, and therewithall alledgeth the Bull itselfe; I aunswer, that no Pope had any lawfull auctoritie to give any such donation at all. For prooffe whereof, I say that, if he were no more then Christes vycar, as Gomera calleth him in that place, then he muste needes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his Master. Nowe, our Saviour Christe, beinge requested and intreated to make a lawfull devision of inheritance betwene one and his brother, refused to do yt, sayenge, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth, then, the Pope, not beinge spoken to nor entreated, of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion, to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no, not beinge thereunto instantly requested, woulde not have to deale in? Againe, our Saviour Christe con-

fessed openly to Pilate, that his kingdome was not of this worlde. Why, then, doth the Pope, that would be Christes servaunte, take upon him the devision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that which he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull, to witt, that God is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and empires, he would never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome God stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes and Portingales, when they were devidinge the worlde betwene themselves alone, is so well known as I nede not stande to repeate it. But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle, as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called. They mighte rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe, the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself with the affaires of this presente life, because he would please Him that hathe chosen him to be a souldier; and then they would learne to kepe themselves within the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function whereunto they are called; whiche ecclesiasticall function hath nothinge to doe with absolute donation and devidinge of mere temporalties and earthly kingdomes. St. Chrisostome, in his dialogue *De dignitate sacerdotali*, saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge geven by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give

or to take kingdomes, nor to make lawes for the politique governement. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Emperour Constantine againste Auxentius, Bisshope of Milan. Our Saviour Christe himselfe saith to his disciples, that, while they were in the worlde, they shoulde be broughte before kinges and pollitique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be judges and magistrates themselves, especially in the devisions of kingdomes; and, to leave all spirituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his apostles under the civill magistrate and politique governement; yet the Pope, whoe saith he is Peters successor, will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions. The Apostle saith, Romaines the 13: Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers. Nowe, if the Popes will not beleve the worde of God withoute the exposition of the Fathers of the Church, at leaste let them beleve St. Chrisostome, and give eare to that which he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be comaunded to all men, saith he, bothe to prestes and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen, the Apostle declareth, even in the very begynnyng, when he saith in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, thoughe thou were an apostle, thoughe thou were an evangeliste, thoughe thou were a prophet, or thoughe thou were any other whatsoever. For obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines.

But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upon whome they please, by Sam-

uels example that annointed David and deposed Saul, of Elyas that annoynted Hazaell Kinge of Siria insteade of Benhadad, and Jehu Kinge of Israell insteade of Jehoram; as, also, by the example of Jehoida, the highe preste, that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas, the younge sonne of Ochosias, in the kingdome. All those examples make nothings at all in the worlde for them; for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter withoute an expresse comaundement and all circumstances from the mouth of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible. Samuell also did his comission full sore againste his will; and Elias and Elizeus, with greate feare of their lyves. As for Athalia, she was an usurper, and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coulde possibly lay handes on; and therefore Jehoiada, the highe preste, not of his owne absolute authoritie, but by the helpe of the Kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people, caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to deathe. He was also uncle to the younge Kinge, by mariage of his wife, Jehosheba, which was sister to Ahasai, the father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde, in conscience and affinitie, to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynoritie. Nowe, when the Popes have the like excellent spirite of prophesie, and the like chardges and expresse comaundementes from Gods owne mouth, in the behalfe of some one by name againste some one which God by name woulde have

deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for his synnes. But none of the Prophetts made bulls or donations in their palaces, under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes, which they never sawe nor knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or, to say the truth, whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine. He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd ; that is, he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those idolatrous kinges and their people ; and then, if they woulde not, by any meanes, have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God againste them, shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the inhabitantes of the same, and that God, in his justice, woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them, to take vengeance of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes, but also any other godly and zealous bisshoppe or mynister, may doe, beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinarye warrante of his worde.

Yea, but the Popes can shewe goodd recordes that they have deposed Emperors, that they have translated empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germaines, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geven them to another. In deede, in some respectes, they have done

so. But how? They never gave that which was in their actuall possession, yf by any meanes possible they might have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges, as wee say, of other men's hides, and to be liberall of other men's goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the West Indies of his free grace to the Kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a peny. But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne, and not of other mens. For to take from one that which is his, to give it to another to whome it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no liberalitie, thoughe the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede. For as one saieth: *Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, iniustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna* — to take from one fraudulently to give to another mercifully, is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie. The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the West Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and greedy wolves. He shoulde have remembred the worde of our Saviour, whoe saieth: *Beatius est dare quam accipere* — it is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receive.

The Popes say they gave Ireland to Kinge Henry the Seconde and his successors; and indeede they have don it in wordes. But when gave they that unto him? Forsoothe after he had faste footing in it, and when Dermutius, the King of Leynester, had firste

offred to make the Kinge his heire. And for all their donation, yf the Kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte, holpe himselfe, the Popes donation had stode him in small stede; neither did the Kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation. If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England. To conclude this pointe, though wee confesse that the Popes have don this or that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say they did it, and therefore it is lawfull, unlesse they coulde shewe they did it rightfully. *De facto constat, de jure non constat.* And they themselves are driven to confess, that their medlinge on this sorte with kingdomes ys not directly, but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.

Nowe to come to the donation itselfe, wee are firste to consider, whoe it was that was the author thereof; secondly, unto whome it was made; thirdly, what were the causes and inducementes that moved the Pope thereunto; fourthly, the fourme and manner of the donation; fyftly, the inhibition of all other Christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doe the contrarye; lastly, the recompence of the Kinges of Spaine to the Sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste, the author hereof was Pope Alexander the vjth whoe, as Platina and Onuphrius and Bale doe write, was himselfe a Spaniarde, and borne in Valencia, of the familie called Borgia, and therefore no marvell thought he were ledd by

parcialitie to favour the Spanishe nation, thoughe yt were to the prejudice and damage of all others; whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appeare, that havinge in all the time of his Popedome created sixe and thirtie Cardinales, of those xxxvj. he made xvij. to witt the one halfe, Spaniardes, as Bale dothe testifie, writinge of his life. Nowe let any man be judge, whether that were extreame parcialitie and ambition, to make Spaine equal in that pointe with all the reste of Christendome. No marvaile therefore, thoughe as in this, so in his donation, he was beyonde all reason caried away with blynde affection to his nation; which faulte of his had bene more to be borne withall, yf it had bene in a private or small matter. But in this so generall and comon cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable. If any man liste to see this man painted oute further in his colours, let him reade John Bale in his Eighte Century, where he shall finde so many of his badd partes, as a man woulde thinke he coulde not be a fitt man to make a gcodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella, Princes of Spaine, to whome, and to their heires and successors for ever, he confirmed the same, excludinge all other Christian princes. These princes, thoughe otherwise very vertuous and comendable, yet, at the time of the makinge of this donation, were more unable then divers other Kings of Christendome to accomplishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greatly ympoverished with

the warres of Granadae, so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of Kinge Henry the VIIth of England, to subdue the Moores in their owne contrie. Yea, Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne jewells to gage, to borowe money to sett furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapter of the Historie of Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne. It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes, for wante of people of their owne contrie, have not bene able nowe, in the space of $\frac{xx}{iii}$. and xij. yeres, to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste contries, which are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducementes that moved his Holines to graunte these unequall donations unto Spaine were, firste, (as he saieth) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian religion and Catholicque faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spredd abroad throughoute the worlde, especially in his daies, and that the salvation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe, &c. To this I aunswer that, if he had ment as in deede he saieth, he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke, belonging to the duetie of all other Christian princes, unto the Kinges of Spaine onely, as thoughe God had no servauntes but in Spaine; or as thoughe other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce Gods glory as they; or howe mente he that every one shoulde

put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian Princes, in paine of his heaueie curse and excommunicatyon, to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes, though they were to the conversion of thinhabitauntes in those partes. And whereas, to colour this his donation, he addeth, that the Kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardges in that discoverie, in respecte whereof he was induced to deale so franckly with them, yt is euident that the Bull was graunted in the yere 1493. the iiijth of the moneth of May, at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely with one small shippe and twoo little caravells, and had, in all his companie, but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stooode the Kinge of Spaine in 2500. crownes only. So these 2500. crownes were the greate chardges that the Pope speaketh of, that induced him to graunte so large a donation; for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. chapter of his owne sonnes historie.

Moreover, where the Pope confesseth he was informed, before the donation of his Bull, that the Kinges of Spaine had purposed, by the aide of God, to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and ilandes, with their inhabitants, whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in comendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully withoute makinge of him privy to their enterprice, which they did not in their firste sendinge

furthe Columbus. And with what righte he builded and lefte men in Hispaniola at the firste, before the Popes donation, with the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwarde discover. So, then, the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that which they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie. And as for their former zeale and resolution to publishe the Christian faithe in those quarters, which the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whoe seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge, but to that which he acknowledgeth to have bene in them already; and so he did nothinge but *actum agere*.

Againe; in that he saieth, that in no other respecte, but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *and for certeine secrete causes*, he gave unto them all the ilandes and firme landes which already have bene founde, and which shoulde afterwarde be founde, which were then discovered or afterwarde to be discovered, towardes the West and the Southe, drawinge a straighte line from the pole articke to the pole antarticke, whether the ilandes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towardes the Indies or towardes any other quarter; intendinge, nevertheles, that this line be distant an hundred leagues towardes the West and the Southe from the iles which are comonly called the Azores, or those of Cape Verd: to this wee aunswer, that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his Holines, beinge a Spaniarde borne, sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie, and of his mere

motion and francke liberalitie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation, with doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye, and more, unto all other Princes of Christendome. For what els can those wordes importe, that he did it also for certain secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte, indifferent, and sincere dealinges? And surely, if he had ment uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainly; for truthe seketh no secrete corners. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else but the feare and jelousie that he had, that Kinge Henry the vijth of England, with whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprize, and even aboute this time had concluded with the Kinge upon all pointes and articles, whoe even now was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action; which, if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share with the Spaniardes in the profitt, and greatly ecclips their honour and glorie. Also, he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time with the Kinge of Portingale, and offer which he made firste of all to the said Kinge of this discovery, whoe thoughe at the firste delte doubly with Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offered, yet, they missinge of their purpose, the Kinge of Portingale woulde have employed Columbus, and delte effectually with him to that ende; but he conceavinge a greate displeasure

againste the Kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his honour, and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his realme into Castile. But the Pope, fearinge that either the Kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawen into England, by interposinge of his usurped aucthoritie, thoughte secretly, by his unlawfull division, to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite. Loe, these were indeede those secrete causes, sodenly, withoute makinge the other Kinges privie, to make his generall and universall donation of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one pole unto another, passinge a hundred leagues westwarde of the Iles of Azores; which division, howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor, simple childe, Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, one of the Spaniardes owne historiographers, dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this chapter (saieth he), I will recite, to recreate the reader, that which happened, upon this partition, to the Portingales. As Fraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria, and others, came to this assembly, and passed the river by Quidiana, a little infant that kepthe his mothers clothes, which she had washt and honge abroad to drye, demaunded of them, whether they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde with the Emperour; and as they answered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them: Drawe your lyne throughe the middest of this place. This, saieth the author,

was published in contempte all abroade, bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these committies. The Portingales were greatly angrie therewithall, but the rest turned yt to a jest and laughed yt oute.

But what wise man seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne, and made them ridiculous and their partition in the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste, speakinge with mans voyce, reproved the foolishnes of Balam the Prophett!

4. The fourthe pointe which I purpose to touche, is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a large preface and connynge preamble; and that begynneth in this manner: Wee therefore, by the auctoritie of God Almightye, which is geven to us in the person of Saincte Peter, and which wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the ilandes and firme landes, with their seigniories, cities, castells, &c. In which repetition of his donation the seconde time for failinge, he woulde shewe unto the worlde by what auctoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, contries, seigniories, cities, castells, places, villages, righte, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenaunces and thinges belonginge to the same, to the Kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successours for ever. This usurped auctoritie, as I have plainly confuted and denied in the begynnyng, so now, in a worde or twoo, I will shewe, that God

never gave unto the Popes any suche auctoritie. The chefest and greatest auctoritie that ever was geven by Christe to Peter, is mentioned in the 16. Matth: 16. chapter of St. Mathewe, where Christe saieth unto him: I will give unto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven. St. Hierome, expoundinge of this place, saieth, that the priestes or bisshopps duetie and auctoritie of the keyes, to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy Scripture, and by the judgements of the Catholique Church, where and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of God, and whoe beinge once a Christian is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Church. These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes which God hath put into prestes handes. And Peter Lombarde, the Master of the Sentences, one of their owne doctors, is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what auctoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, John 20. verse 21. sayenge to them all: Whosoever synnes yee remitte, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme, that they had auctoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor

hearde, nor any mane else, as I verely beleve. Which moste injuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa, beinge an infidell. For after Fryer Vincent of Valverde, of the companie and traine of Piçar, had made an oration to him, the some whereof was that he shoulde become a Christyan, and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperor, to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome, Atabalipa, beinge greatly insensed, replied, that, seeinge he was now free, he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater lorde then himselfe; but that he was willinge to be the Emperor's frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate lorde that sente so many armies abroad into the worlde. He aunswered, moreover, that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope, seinge he gave away that which belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome, that came unto him by inheritaunce, to one which he had never seene in his life. And whereas Fryer Vincent, beinge displeased at his replye, was gladd to seeke any waye to wreake his anger upon him, insomuche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse fall to the grounde, he was so testye that he sett Piçar and his souldiers forwardes, cryenge, Vengeance, Christians, vengeance! give the chardge upon them; whereby many Indians, withoute resistance, or any stroke stricken on their partes, were moste pitefully muredred and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwarde treacherously put to deathe; this Frier himselfe, by Gods

juste judgemente, was afterwarde beaten to deathe with clubbes by the inhabitantes of Puna, as he fledd from Don Diego de Almagre, as Fraunces Lopez de Gomera precisely and of purpose noteth, libro 5. cap. 85. of his Generall Historie of the Indies; and, besides him, all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell, and of the Popes Donation, came to moste wretched and unfortunate endes, as the aforesaide author there setteth downe in twoo severall chapters of Considerations, as he calleth them.

Moreover, since the fourme of the donation ronnethe not absolutely, but with this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., that the Kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the inhabitantes of those contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the Catholique faithe, and noseled in goodd manners, and that they shoulde carefully applye themselves thereunto; wee answer, that these conditions have bene wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in relligion nor manners, and consequently that the conditions beinge not perfourmed the donation oughte of righte to be voide. For the Kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted, but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures, as Bartholmewe de Casas, the Bisshoppe of Chiapa in the West Indies, a Spaniarde borne, dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And

Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, another of their owne historiographers, and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, affirmeth the like: For there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saith he, which, havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaid the partes not of men, but of dragons and infidells, and, havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians, that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And althoughe those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Majestie and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the lande shoulde not wholly have bene disinhabited, which by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the contrie conquered and pacified; but I call it, quoth Gonsaluo, the contrie which is destroyed and ruyned; yea, so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of Christianitie and true Relligion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saith: The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you; ffor prooffe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that which Peter Benzo of Milan hath written, whoe remayned in these Indies, and served in the warres with the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres. This Benzo saith that the Indians, not havinge studied logicke,

concluded very pertinently and catagorically, that the Spaniardes, which spoiled their contrie, were more dangerous then wilde beastes, more furious then lyons, more fearefull and terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outeragious in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes which are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye which they have in their contrie. There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is frustrated of the ende which he intended in his Donation, and so the same oughte not to take effecte?

5. Ffiftly, yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earnest, that all Emperours and Kinges which shoulde sende their subjectes or others to discover withoute the Kinge of Spaines leave shoulde be excommunicated by him, why did he not firste excommunicate Kinge Henry the Seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota with three hundred Englishemen, whoe, by Gomera his owne confession, discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like to Kinge Henry the Eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde, in the xixth yere of his reigne, while he was yet in obedience to the Church of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed againste Queene Mary, whoe suffred her subjectes, in the yere 1556. to seke oute, by the northeaste, the way to Cathaio and China, which are bothe within the pretended lymites

of his donation, as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doe write? Why did he not exercise his censures ecclesiasticall againste the Kinge of Ffraunce, Fraunces the Firste, for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twice or thrise, Iaques Cartier twice, and Robervall once, to-wardes the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the Seconde of Fraunce excommunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasill under the tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the IXth for aiding Ribault firste, and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault, to fortifie and inhabite in Florida? Or why did he not thunder againste Emanuell, Kinge of Portingale, for suffringe Gasper Corterealis twice to seeke to finde oute the northweste passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmarke for suffringe his subjecte, John Scolno, a Dane, in the yere 1500. to seke the Straighte by the northweste, of whome Gemma Frisius, and Hieronymo Giraua, a Spaniarde, make mention? Or what shoulde be the reason that all these kinges of England, Fraunce, Portingale, and Denmarke, beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Church of Rome, shoulde, withoute consente as yt were, disanull and never make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? which thinge doubtles they woulde never have don, yf they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any Prince or Emperour, of what estate or condition soever, shoulde attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he shoulde be assured to incurr the indignation of

Almightie God and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle. But nowe, seinge all the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne withoute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme with one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconyng of the breache of that Bull, as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian princes of the worlde.

Againe; yt were small charitie in the Popes to curse those Princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the honour and glory of God, and the lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoever Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of God and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of infidells and heathen people of the West Indies, which the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered, moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and, to those which he cursed undeservedly, woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte; thoughe Pope Alexander the vjth by his unequall division, hath so puffed upp and inflamed with pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen, that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves, that they shall shortly attaine to be lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, inso-moche as Gonsaluo de Ouiedo sticketh not to write to Charles the Emperour, sayenge: God hath geven

you these Indies *accio che vostra Maiesta sia uniuersale et unico monarcha del mondo* — to the intente that your Majestie shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the worlde; yet God that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble their faces to the duste; yea, he will make them, at his goodd time and pleasure, to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely; as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, which, not longe since, takeinge upon them to deuide the worlde with lynes, doe nowe beholde the line of Gods juste judgements drawen over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions. And nowe, no doubt, many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heaue woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled.

6. Finally, to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you consider what recompence the Kinges of Spaine have made to the Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, you shall easely see and acknowledge with me, that they were either moste ungrateful, or, which is moste likely, that they never thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their title unto those regions depended upon his francke almes or liberalitie; ffor, if they had don soe, they coulde have done no lesse but have geuen him the presentation of all archebisshopricks and bisshoprickes, and other greate

ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and large curtesie, wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reservinge onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all the archebisshopricks and bisshopricks that they have erected in the West Indies ; ffor, as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and 23. chapiter of his Generall Historie of the Indies, the Kinge of Spaine is patrone of all the archebisshoprickes, bysshoprickes, dignities, and benefices of the West Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lorde of the Indies.

This argueth that the Kinges of Spaine never made any greate accompte of the Popes' Donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde with the sea of Rome ; ffor doubtles, if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende, as I saied, of the Popes mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute patrones of all ecclesiasticall dignities whatsoever.

CAP. XX. A breife collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

1. The soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all the severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions, and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to shorte, but easie, and to be made twice in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any prince, nor nere any of their contries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth our trades in the Levant Seas within the Straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas within the Kinge of Denmarkes Straite, and the trades to the portes of Norway and of Russia, &c. ; for as in the south weste Straite there is no passage in somer by lacke of windes, so within the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed, by the peculiar comoditie of wolles,

and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour, mighte, and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde; it cometh nowe so to passe, that by the greate endeavour of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the West Indies, nowe daily more and more multipliege, that the wolles of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other; which, prudently weyed, yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorye, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped, the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall comoditie of this realme. And effectually pursuinge that course, wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte well-come), an ample vente, but also shall, from the north side of that firme, finde oute knownen and unknownen ilandes and domynions replenished with people that may fully vent the aboundaunce of that our comoditie, that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small value by forreine aboundaunce, &c.; so as by this enterprize wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades, that els muste nedes fall

upon the realme, without breache of peace or sworde drawn againste this realme by any forreine state ; and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighbours at home, nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge, as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie, with greate desire of our overthrowe, endeoured ; and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve aughte, they be so sotted with opinion of their owne ; and, yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this realme.

6. This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plantinge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the Kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega, and on that tracte faste by, more to the northe and northeaste, and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth more contynuaunce of ordinary windes, then the present course of the Spanishe Indian navies nowe

dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Majestie may, by the benefete of the seate, havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hempe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price, and withoute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this realme, swarming at this day with valiant youtnes, rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste conynge shipwrights of the worlde, to be lordes of all those sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equallitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cutt of the common mischefes that come to all Europe by the peculiar aboundaunce of his Indian treasure, and thiss withoute difficultie.

7. This voyadge, albeit it may be accomplished by barke or smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessity, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden; so as this realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and of greate strengthe for the defence of this realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and withall greate increase of perfecte sea-

men, which greate princes in time of warres wante, and which kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes, so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the Base Contries, in Spaine, Fraunce, Portingale, &c., in the tymes of Charles the Emperour, Fraunces the Frenche kinge, and others; but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe, withoute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the comaundement of the prince with mariners, artillory, armor, and munition, ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes, caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly, in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe, be driven by windes and tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the Spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the Weste Contries, &c.; and so our marchantes in respect of private state, and of the realme in respect of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischeefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes withoute payment of custome once, twice, or thrise, before it come into the realme, and so all forren comodities become derer to the subjectes of this

realme; and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided; and the forren comodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England, to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate treasure in the realme; whereas nowe the realme becomethe poore by the purchasinge of forreine comodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of this realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape comodities of these partes for thinges of highe valor there not esteemed; and this to the greate enrichinge of the realme, if common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure withoute staye or restraunte of forreine prince; whereas upon staies and restraints the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over of his ware; and, buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade with smalle stocke, and withoute takinge upp money upon interest; and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the comodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same, by makinge of cables and cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie, and by thousandes of thinges there to be done, infinite nom-

bers of the Englishe nation may be set on worke, to the unburdenynge of the realme with many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c., and for makinge of yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spanishe, of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes, to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme.

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receave out of Fraunce, Flaunders, Germanye, &c.; and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the Frenche and Flemynge, better cheape; and in the ende, for the parte that this realme was wonte to receave, dryve them oute of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

16. Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell, and from England plante sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a number fitt for the service of the

warres and for the defence of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie ; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice, *Liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedome, so no doubt whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her government, and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially when they shall understande that she hathe a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence. And her Majestie havinge Sir Fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite with the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the Spanishe governemente, she may with them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation, trayned upp in the late warres of Fraunce and Flaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that with greate ease ; and this broughte so aboute, her Majestie and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize, that nowe passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande, of all the comodities of Europe ; which trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (without the benefite of the riche myne) to inriche the subjectes,

and by customes to fill her Majesties coffers to the full. And if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were five times so many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnens, and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade into the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be cast of, and ofte to be idle, and so by povertie to fall to piracie. But this course to Norumbega beinge longer, and a contynuaunce of themploymente of the maryner, dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and from necessitie; and so it cutteth of the principal actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes, overthrowen by suertishippe, by sea, or by some folly of youthe, that are not able to live in England, may there be raised againe, and doe their contrie goodd service; and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate nombers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servitours, in the ende of the warres, that mighte be hurtfull to this realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this realme, and to our forreine benefite there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye of the wandringe beggars of England,

that growe upp ydly, and hurtefull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries to the home and for-reine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.

CAP. XXI. **A** note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideration, then for any other reason; for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, withoute the which the voyadge is maymed.

DEADE VICTUALL.

Hoggs fleshe, barrellled and salted, in greate quantitie.	Turnep Seede.	} VICTUALL BY ROOTES AND HERBES.
Befe, barrellled, in lesse quantitie.	Passeneape Sede.	
Stockfishe, Meale in barrells.	Radishe.	
Oatemeale, in barrells, nere cowch- ed.	Cariott.	
Ryse, Sallett Oile, barrellled Butter.	Naviewes.	
Cheese, Hony in barrells.	Garlicke.	
Currans, Raisons of the sonne.	Onyons.	
Dried Prunes, Olives in barrells.	Leekes.	
Beanes, dried on the kill.	Melons.	
Pease, dried likewise.	Pompions.	
Canary Wines, Hollocke.	Coweombers.	
Sacks racked.	Cabage Cole.	
Vineger, very stronge.	Parseley.	
Aqua Vitæ.	Lettis.	
Syders of Ffraunce, Spaine, and England.	Endiffe.	
Bere, brewed specially in special tyme.	Alexander.	
	Orege.	
	Tyme.	
	Rosemary.	
	Mustard Seede.	
	Fennell.	
	Anny Seedes, newe and freshe to be sowen.	

THE ENCREASE, RENEWE, AND THE CONTINEWE OF VICTUALL AT THE
PLANTINGE PLACES, AND MEN AND THINGES INCIDENT AND TEND-
INGE TO THE SAME.

Bores, Sowes.		Suger cane planters with the plantes.
Conies, Bucke and Dowe.		Vyne planters.
Doves, male and female.		Olyve planters.
Cockes, Hennes.		Gardiners for herbes, rootes, and for all earthe frutes.
Duckles, male and female, for lowe soiles.		Graffers for frute trees.
Turkies, male and female.		Hunters, skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.
Wheat, Rye, Barley.	} To sowe to vittell by breade and drinke, &c.	Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyn.
Bigge, or Barley Bere.		Fowlers.
Oates, Beanes.		Sea Fisshers.
Pease, Ffacches.		Fresh water Fisshers.
Three square Graine.		Knytters of netts.
		Butchers.
		Salters and seasoners of vittell.
		Salte makers.
		Cookes.
		Bakers.
		Brewers.
		Greyhoundes to kill deere, &c.
		Mastives to kill heavië beastes of ravyne and for nighte watches.
		Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

PROVISIONS TENDINGE TO FORCE.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.
Platformes of many formes redied to carry with you by advise of the best.
Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.
Souldiers well trayned in Filaunders to joyne with the younger.
Harqubusshiers of skill.
Archers, stronge bowmen,
Bowyers.
Ffletchers.
Arrow head makers.
Bow stave preparers.

Glew makers.

Morryce pike makers and of halbert staves.

Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trenchers, and forte makers.

Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and rampiers.

Pioners and spademen for fortification.

Salte peter makers.

Gonne powder makers.

Targett makers of hornes, defensive againste savages.

Oylethole donblett makers, defensive, lighte and gentle to lye in.

Turners of targetts of elme, and of other toughe woodds lighte.

Shippes,

Pynnesses,

Barkes,

Busses with flatt botoms,

} furnished with experte Seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare, covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare, to perce ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe, offensive and defensive againste savages, devised by Mr. Bodenham of Spaine.

Shipwrights in some number to be employed on the timber.

Oare makers, and makers of cable and of cordage.

PROVISIONS INCIDENT TO THE FIRSTE TRAFICQUE AND TRADE OF
MARCHANDIZE.

Grubbers and rooters upp of cipres, cedars, and of all other faire trees, for to be employed in coffers, deskes, &c., for traficque.

Mattocks, narrowe and longe, of yron, to that purpose.

Millwrights, to make milles for spedy and cheape sawinge of timber and boordes for trade, and firste traficque of suertie.

Millwrights, for corne milles.

Sawyers, for comon use.

Carpinters, for buildinges.

Joyners, to cutt oute the boordes into chests to be imbarqued for England.

Blacksmithes, to many greate and nedefull uses.

Pitche makers.

Tarr makers.

Burners of ashes for the trade of sope ashes.

Cowpers, for barrells to inclose those ashes.

Tallow chandlers, to prepare the tallowe to be incasked for England.

Waxechandlers, to prepare waxe in like sorte.

Diers, to seeke in that firme that riche cochinillo and other thinges for that trade.

Mynerall men.

ARTESANES, SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS, NOT IN TRAFICQUE BUT
FOR BUILDINGES.

Brick makers.
Tile makers.
Lyme makers.
Bricklayers.
Tilers.
Thachers with reede, russhes, broome, or strawe.
Synkers of walles and finders of springes.
Quarrellers to digge tile.
Roughe Masons.
Carpinters.
Lathmakers.

ARTESANES, SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS, AND IN PARTE SERVINGE
FOR TRAFICQUE.

Barbors.
Launders.
Tailors.
Botchers.
Paile makers.
Burechiomakers.
Bottlenmakers of London.
Shoemakers, coblers.
Tanners, white tawyers.
Buffe skynne dressers.
Shamew skynne dressers.

A PRESENT PROVISION FOR RAISINGE A NOTABLE TRADE FOR THE
TIME TO COME.

The knitt'wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine, called *bonetto rugio collerado*, so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people, and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a greate reliefe to our poore people, and a sale of our woll and of our labour; and beinge suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easelie compasse, the sale wil be greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their firste arryvall there.

THINGS FORGOTTEN MAY HERE BE NOTED AS THEY COME TO MYNDE,
AND AFTER BE PLACED WITH THE REST, AND AFTER THAT IN ALL
BE REDUCED INTO THE BEST ORDER.

That there be appointed one or twoo preachers for the voyadge, that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe.

That the voyadge be furnished with Bibles and with Bookes of service. That the bookes of the discoveries and conquests of the Easte Indies be carried with you.

That the bookes of the discoveries of the West Indies, and the conquests of the same, be also caried, to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes, and to make them lesse careles for the better shunninge of comon daungers in suche cases arisinge. And because men are more apte to make themselves subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any capitaine, be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke, in their discoveries, for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had pased moste of the lawes of th' empire and of other princes lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders, fitt for voyadges and begynnynge, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Queenes moste excellent Majestic and her wise counsell; and, faire ingrossed, mighte in a table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyadge, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and by phisicke, to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche as fall into disease and distemperature.

A surgeon to lett bloude, and for such as may chaunce, by warres or otherwise, to be hurte, is more nedefull for the voyadge.

An apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite; and, the phisition dienge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of the one and thother, and to sende into the realme, by seede and roote, herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these regions as is saied, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyadge suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drinke called meth, which they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer, as in North Wales, for their wine; and, if you cannot cary any suche, to cary the order of the makinge of yt in writinge, that it may be made for a nede.

And, before many thinges, this one thinge is to be called, as yt were, with spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes, overthrowen by losse at sea, by usurers, suertshippe, and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannot for their debtes shewe their faces; and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their goodd giftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves, but are, withoute some speciall meane used, to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte; and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawn to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greate uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by aucthoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully, or for triflinge causes are deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades, and to employe them; for so they may be relieved, and the enterpryce furthered in many respectes.

And, in choice of all artesanes for the voyadge, this general rule were goodd to be observed, that no man be chosen that is knowen to be a Papiste, for the speciall inclynation they have of favour to the Kinge of Spaine.

A moste
nedeful note.

That also, of those artesanes which are Protestantes, that where you may have chaunge and choice, that suche as be moste stronge and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his bowe or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goers in the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. And therefore (many goinge), yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a booke before they be receaved, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that, accordinge as occasion of nede shall require.

APPENDIX.

NOTES TO HAKLUYT'S DISCOURSE.

NOTE ON THE TITLE-PAGE.

COMPARE lines one to five with the second paragraph of the title of Sir George Peckham's "True Report." (Hak. III. 165.)

This sentence, incomplete and ungrammatical as it stands, may be corrected as follows: "The greate necessitie that the Realme of Englande should take possession of the Westernne discoueries lately attempted, and the manifolde comodities which are likely to growe to it from so doing."

"*Discoueries lately attempted.*"—Viz., by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583; and by some others previously.

"*Written . . . by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde.*"—The author elsewhere styles himself more fully "sometime student of Christ Church in Oxford," or "Preacher," to distinguish himself from his cousin Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple.

"*Rayhly.*"—This way of spelling Raleigh's name is quite unique. Cayley, his biographer, says he had "seen the name written in thirteen different ways;" and this differs from either of those which he has given. Herrera writes the name "Gualteral," "ingeniously fusing into one his Christian and family names." (Motley, Hist. of United Netherlands, III. 331.) Sir Walter himself wrote his name "Ralegh," and is followed by Oldys, Edwards, and others. His son Carew adopted the spelling "Raleigh," which has come into general use, and is hence adopted in this volume. (See Read's Hudson, pp. 30, 31, note.)

"*Nowe Knight.*"—Mr. Walter Raleigh, on whose request the Discourse had been written, had now, at the time when this title-page was prefixed to it, been made Knight. The exact

date on which the honor of knighthood was conferred on him is not recorded. The latest date on which, after careful search, he is found to have been, in any official way, styled simply Mr. or Esq., is on the 19th December, 1584, on the first reading in the House of Lords of the Bill confirming his Patent. (Lords Journal, Vol. I. p. 76.) This is one day later than had been noticed by Oldys (p. 58). The earliest date on which he is found officially styled Sir Walter is 24th February, 1585. (D'Ewes' Journal, p. 356; and Burleigh's Orders to know the force of the Stannaries, in St. John's Raleigh, p. 91, ed. 1869.) The time at which he was knighted must have been between these dates.

It is affirmed by J. Payne Collier, Esq., that, in the title to his copy of Raleigh's Patent, he is styled already Knight; and it is hence argued by him that he was knighted at least a year before the time usually assigned to that event. (Archæologia, Vol. XXXIV. pp. 145, 146, 1852.) It is sufficient to answer that the original Patent Roll, bearing date 25th March, 1584, has no title or caption (26 Eliz., Pt. I.), and that the titles or captions found prefixed to the several reprints or copies of this original Patent are the work of the several editors or copyists, and stand entirely on their authority; that the captions prefixed to Hakluyt's reprints of this Patent in his edition of 1589 (p. 725), and in that of 1600 (III. 243), were added by himself. In both these editions, the title is the same; viz., "The Letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Majestie to M. Walter Raleigh, now Knight," &c. And it signifies, as in our title-page, only this: that, whereas, in the body of the original Patent, the Patentee is styled Walter Raleigh, Esq., he had now, viz., at the time when this caption was prefixed, been made Knight. The copy of Raleigh's Patent, which Collier speaks of as *his*, can hardly have been made from these well-known reprints of Hakluyt, with his caption prefixed. It was probably taken from that preserved in the Record Office, and referred to in Dom. Eliz., Vol. CLXIX. No. 37. To this copy the following title is prefixed, viz.: "Letters Patent, from Qu. Eliz. to Sir Walter Rawleigh, entitled The Lres Patents granted by the Queene's Majestie, to Mr. Walter Raleigh,

Knt.," &c. But this copy, as we are assured by Mr. Sainsbury, was made by a very inaccurate clerk of Sir Joseph Williamson, in the time of Charles II. The caption was doubtless prefixed by the clerk. It is needless to say that it cannot justify the conclusion drawn from it by Mr. Collier, or any conclusion, except that, in the opinion of the clerk who wrote the caption, the Walter Raleigh, Esq., of the original Patent, had been subsequently knighted.

It might be added, if it were worth while to argue this point further, that not only in the original Patent, but in the State Papers referring to it, up to the time of its confirmation by Parliament, the Patentee is always styled Walter Raleigh, Esq. (See Dom. Eliz., Vol. CLXIX. Nos. 35, 36.)

"*Before the comynge home of his two barkes.*"—The two barks were those which left England 27th April, 1584, under the command of Captains Amadas and Barlow, and returned "about the middest of September" of the same year. (Hak. III. 246, 250.)

"*And is devided into xxi chapiters, the titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.*"—The original manuscript of this Discourse, written in 1584, and the first (and perhaps the second) copy of it made in 1585, were divided into *twenty* chapters only, to which were prefixed only twenty titles or heads, corresponding to those of our copy. The twenty-first chapter and its title were added afterwards, though exactly when is not known.

It thus appears that this title-page could not have been prefixed to the original Discourse. That was presented to Queen Elizabeth by the author two days before his dispatch to Paris, after his summer vacation in London; whereas this title-page could not have been written until after the middle of September, 1584, when the two barks had returned; nor until after the 19th December of that year, when Raleigh had not yet been knighted; nor until after Easter of 1585, when as yet the Discourse was divided into only twenty chapters.

The original Discourse was called by its author "Mr. Rawley's Voyage," and probably bore this title when presented to the Queen. The first copy, made for Walsingham, and presented to him in 1585, was called "Sir Walter Raleigh's

Voyage to the West Indies," and probably was so designated on its title-page. It would be interesting to know at what time and on what occasion our more full and descriptive title-page was substituted.

w.

NOTE ON THE HEADS OF CHAPTERS.

A copy of the Heads of Chapters of this Discourse, to which the twenty-first Head had not yet been added, and which hence must have been earlier than ours, is preserved in the Public Record Office (Dom. Eliz., Vol. CXCV. No. 127), and is published in full in this Appendix, in *fac-simile*.

It appears from the foot-note subjoined to that earlier copy that it was a transcript made from the original manuscript, or from a copy of that. Now, on comparing our later copy with the earlier copy thus preserved, it is found to agree with it *verbatim et literatim*, so far as that is legible, and where it has become illegible supplies exactly the words, the syllables, and the letters which have been effaced. From this it follows that our Heads of Chapters (*i.e.* from the first to the twentieth inclusive), agreeing thus exactly with a copy certified by the author as made by himself, are authenticated as at least a faithful copy of the original, and that the several chapters to which they are respectively prefixed through the whole Discourse, must also be authentic.

The several topics suggested in these twenty Heads of Chapters had, for the most part, been already noticed, by the author himself, and by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his associates in their various arguments for this enterprise, though in a manner less full and systematic.

But the topics discussed under Heads No. V. to No. XI. inclusive, in which the bearings of this enterprise upon the power of the King of Spain are set forth, form an exception to this statement; as they had not been insisted on, and perhaps had been designedly omitted, in the previous arguments. During the nominal peace which had existed between England and Spain for some years previous to the date of this Discourse, topics of this nature, however much they may have occupied men's thoughts, could not consistently have been openly ad-



Fold-out Placeholder

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vanced. But when, in 1584, war had been virtually proclaimed, this reserve was no longer necessary, certainly in a discourse intended to be seen only by the Queen and her Councillors. On the contrary, just at this juncture of her affairs, these topics, in which this enterprise was represented as a prominent part of the military plan of the great conflict upon which she was then entering, were the ones most likely to gain for it the favor of the Queen and of her cabinet.

But although these topics do not occur in the discourses of Hayes, of Carlyle, or of Peckham, they are abundantly set forth in those of Sir Walter Raleigh, subsequently written or published. And, as he had now become the patron of this enterprise, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were added by Hakluyt to those he had previously written under other influences, by Raleigh's particuilar request and direction; and, indeed, that they were the means of imparting to the enterprise that new character which it soon assumed, more in accordance with the present emergency.

Below are copies of three of the heads of chapters taken from the manuscript in the Public Record Office, of which a *fac-simile* is published in this appendix: the words and letters wanting in those heads or sections being supplied from the same sections of this Discourse. To that extent the two lists will be found to agree; and the reader who has a curiosity to compare the remainder of the heads of chapters in the two lists, will find a like agreement as far as to the twentieth chapter.

I. That this westerne discoūrye will be g[reately for thin]large-
mente of the gospell] of Christe, whereunto the princes of the
[refourmed relligion are chefely] bound, among whome her
Ma^{tie}: is principall.

II. That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerlye or dan-
g[erous,] especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions,
where [our] men are dryven to flinge their bibles & prayer
bookes into the sea, and to forswear & renounce their relli-
gion & conscience & consequently theyr obedyence to her
Ma^{tie}:

[X. A brefe decla]raçon of the chefe Ilandes in the bay of MEXICO
[being u]nde[r] the Kinge of Spaine with their havens & fortes,
& what comodities they yeeld.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE DISCOURSE.

PAGE 7.

The people "which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of Norumbega in the yere 1524 [1525]."

Estavan Gomez was a Portuguese pilot, who, about 1518, entered the service of Spain. He sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, as pilot of one of the vessels, the "San Antonia"; but he did not accompany the commander through the strait which now bears his name. With his ship and crew, Gomez deserted Magellan and returned home, reporting the strait as too dangerous for passage. On the return of the remaining vessel, in 1522, having for the first time made the voyage round the world, Gomez proposed to lead an expedition for the discovery of a north-west passage. The rival claims of Spain and Portugal to the division of the newly discovered regions delayed the sailing of his expedition. The council of Badajoz was convened in 1524, and Gomez was sent as commissioner. That council settled nothing. On its dissolution, his preparations were completed; and he sailed from Corunna in February, 1525. Nothing from his own pen or that of his companions relating to this voyage has come down to us; and the accounts in Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, Herrera, and Galvano, are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. It is not certain where he made his land-fall: whether he sailed up or down our coast. The authorities conflict. Dr. Kohl, who has given an excellent summary of the evidence, in the first volume of our "Documentary History," at pages 271-281, is of opinion that he sailed along the coast of Newfoundland to the south as far as 40° or 41° N. Failing to find the passage sought for, he took on board of his vessels, probably at this place, a number of Indians and carried them to Spain. He was absent ten months. An interesting memorial of his voyage exists on the map of the Spanish cosmographer Ribero, of 1529. On a large section of the map, representing apparently the territory of New England and Nova Scotia, is inscribed in large letters,

"Tierra de Estevan Gomez," continued in Spanish in smaller characters, "which he discovered at the command of his Majesty, in the year 1525. There are here many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain; and many walrusses, and salmon, and fish of all sorts. Gold they have not found." In the text of Hakluyt cited above, he says that Gomez brought these idolaters from "the coast of Norumbega."

On page 25 of this Discourse, Hakluyt quotes the passage about Gomez from the Italian of Ramusio, Vol. III. The original Spanish is here given from the "Sumario" of Oviedo, fol. xiii., followed by the English version of Richard Eden. It will be seen that the writer does not mention "Norumbega" by name:—

Despues que V. M. esta enesta cibdad de Toledo llego aqui enel mes de Nouiembre, el piloto Esteuan gomez, el qual enel año passado de mil y quinientos y veynte y quatro: por mādado de V. M. sue ala parte d'l norte, y hallo mucha tierra continuada con la que se llama delos Bacallaos, discurriendo al occidēte, y puesta en quaranta grados y. xli. y assi algo mas y algo menos, de donde truro algunos indios, y los ay dellos al presente enesta cibdad, los quales son de mayor estatura que los dela tierra firme, segun lo que dellos paresce comū, y porq̃ el dicho piloto dize q̃ vido muchos dellos y q̃ son assi todos: la color es assi como los d' tierra firme, y son grādes frecheros, y andā cubiertos de cueros de venados y otros animales, y ay en aquella tierra excelētes martas zebellinas y otros ricos enforros, y d'stas pieles truxo algunas el dicho piloto: tienē plata y cobre, segū estos indios dizē y lo dā a entēder por señas, y adorā el sol y la luna, y assi ternā otras ydolatrias y errores, como los de tierra firme:—

"Shortly after that your Maiestie came to the citie of Toledo, there arryued in the moneth of Nouember, Steuen Gomes the pylot who the yeare before of 1524 by the commaundement of youre Maiestie sayled to the Northe partes and founde a greate parte of lande continuatē from that which is cauled *Baccadeos* discoursynge towarde the West to the xl. and xli. degree, frō whence he brought certeyne Indians (for so caule wee all the nations of the new founde landes) of the whiche he brought sum with hym from thense who are ye tin Toledo at this present, and

of greater stature then other of the firme lande as they are commonlye. Their coloure is much lyke thother of the firme lande. They are great archers, and go covered with the skinnes of dyuers beastes both wyld and tame. In this lande are many excellent furies, or martens, sables, and such other rych furies of the which the sayde pilote brought summe with hym into Spayne. They haue syluer and copper, and certeyne other metalls. They are Idolatres and honoure the-soonne and moone, and are seduced with suche superstitions and errours as are they of the firme." (Richard Eden's "Decades of the new worlde or west India," &c., London, 1555, fols. 213, 214.)

It strikes one with a little surprise that Hakluyt throughout this Discourse should cite his Spanish authorities at second-hand through the Italian of Ramusio, whenever they are to be found in that compiler's volumes, rather than directly from the original works of those authors themselves. We can hardly suppose that he had not access, in this instance, to the "Sumario" of Oviedo, published at Toledo in 1526. The volumes of Ramusio were certainly convenient for reference, embracing as they do the works of numerous authors; but the impropriety of quoting long extracts from Spanish writers through an Italian version, when the original works were accessible, does not appear to have occurred to Hakluyt. He always quotes Gomara from the Italian or French versions. One is almost inclined to accept Mr. Biddle's conjecture, that Hakluyt was ignorant of Spanish. "The Spanish histories which I have read" (see p. 47 of this Discourse) may have been translations from that language. But a fac-simile of a manuscript of Hakluyt of a later period is inserted in the "Divers Voyages," published by the Hakluyt Society, which concludes as follows: "Translated out of Spanish by Richard Hakluyt." He may in the mean time have learned the language.

PAGE 7.

"*Ramusius.*"

Gio. Battista Ramusio was born at Trevigi, in 1485, and died in 1557. He edited three valuable volumes of voyages in Italian, the first of which was published at Venice in 1550,

entitled "Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi," &c. The second volume was published in 1559, after the death of the Editor; and the third, which relates wholly to America, in 1556, the year before Ramusio's death. He was diligent and successful in collecting original materials for his work, and was a correspondent, among others, of Oviedo and Cabot.

PAGE 7.

"Oviedo."

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés was born at Madrid, in 1478. He was educated at the Court of Spain, and was page to Prince Juan. In 1514, he was sent out to the New World as supervisor of gold-smeltings, and lived at Darien in *Tierra Firme*. He subsequently established himself at Hispaniola. He lived in America nearly forty years, including occasional visits to Spain. In 1526, he published at Toledo his *Sumario*, entitled "Oniedo de la natural hystoria de las Indias." Mr. Ticknor, in his "History of Spanish Literature" (3d ed. II. 33), errs in assigning 1528 as the date of this publication, and also in saying that the work is a "summary of the History of the Spanish Conquests in the New World." A copy is in Harvard College Library. It contains, mainly, an account of the West Indies, their geography, climate, the races who inhabited them, together with their animals and vegetable productions. Oviedo wrote a larger and more important work, entitled "La historia general de las Indias," on which he was employed when he published his "Sumario." It originally consisted of fifty books, divided into three parts. The first part, consisting of nineteen books, and perhaps a part of another, was published in 1535, at Seville. It embraces in a more extended form the details contained in the "Sumario," besides an account of the discoveries and conquests of the Islands. With the exception of the twentieth book, which was published in 1557, at Valladolid, the remaining two parts, relating to the conquests of Mexico, Peru, and other countries of South America, continued in manuscript till within a few years. The whole work was published by the Royal Academy of Madrid, in 4 vols., 1851-55. Large portions of the "Sumario" were

translated into English by Richard Eden, and published in 1555, in his "Decades of the New World," fols. 173-214. Extracts from this version are in Purchas, III. 970. Oviedo died in 1557. (See Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, II. 293-295; Harrisse's Biblioth. Amer. Vet. pp. 255, 256, 337-339.)

PAGES 7, 27, 111, 112.

"*Jaques Cartier.*"

The extracts here given, from the "second relation" of Cartier, may be found in substantially the same language in Vol. III. of Hakluyt's large Collection, 1598-1600, where he publishes the narratives of Cartier's three voyages. From the passage on p. 112 of this Discourse, it appears that Hakluyt had consulted an original manuscript account of Cartier's second voyage in the king's library in Paris, which contained a passage not to be found in the published narrative.

The account of Cartier's second voyage, "Bref Récit," was first published in 1545, in Paris. But one copy of it is now known to be in existence, and that is in the British Museum. It was republished in 1556, in the third volume of Ramusio, in an Italian version; and from that it was translated into English by John Florio, and published in London, in 1580. Hakluyt republished it in English as above, adopting Florio's translation. The late distinguished scholar, M. D'Avezac, edited a new edition of it, printed in *fac-simile* from the copy in the British Museum, and published by Tross in 1863, with full preface and notes by the learned editor. In this is given the result of a collation of the text with that of three early manuscripts in the National Library in Paris.

The narrative of the first voyage was first published in an Italian translation by Ramusio, in his third volume, in 1556, along with the relation of the second voyage. This, with the account of the second voyage, was rendered into English by Florio, and published in 1580. It was also reprinted by Hakluyt, in 1600. In 1598, a French version from the Italian was printed in Ronen; and a new edition of it in *fac-simile* was printed in Paris by Tross in 1865, edited by Alfred Rame, with illustrations. There has more recently been discovered in

Paris what is supposed to be the genuine long-lost narrative, in French, of Cartier's first voyage; and in 1867 it was published by Tross, entitled "*Relation originale du Voyage de Jacques Cartier en 1534.*"

An account of Cartier's third voyage was published in an English version by Hakluyt in fragments, which he probably picked up during his residence in Paris, 1583-88.

PAGE 8.

"As Verarsanus witnesseth in the laste wordes of his relation."

The passage here referred to is the concluding part of the famous letter of Verrazzano to king Francis I. of France, dated at Dieppe, 8th July, 1524, on his return from his voyage to the New World. It was first published by Ramusio in his third volume, in 1556; and an English translation was published by Hakluyt in his "*Divers Voyages,*" 1582. The passage from the original edition, Sig. B4, is as follows:—

"Touching the religion of this people, which wee have founde for want of their language we could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or mouer, neither that they worship the heauen or starres the Sunne or Moone or other Planets, and much lesse whether they bee idolaters, neither could we learne whether that they vsed any kinde of Sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and y^t they liue at their owne libertie. And y^t all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to bee persuaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine seruice they did the same with the like imitation as they sawe vs to doe it."

It is quite unnecessary to enter here upon any notice of the career of Verrazzano or of his voyage to North America, so fully treated in the notes of Dr. Kohl, in Vol. I. of our "*Documentary History.*" The letter to Francis I., of which the above is an extract, has recently been called in question as to its genuineness; and able discussions on both sides of the question have

been published by Mr. J. C. Brevoort, in his "Verrazano the Navigator," New York, 1874, and by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazzano," New York, 1875. Mr. Murphy follows his friend, the late Buckingham Smith, in arguing against the genuineness of the documents which have hitherto been received as evidence of a voyage of Verrazzano to these shores. He has been reviewed by Mr. R. H. Major, in the London Geographical Magazine, for July, 1876, and by the Rev. B. F. De Costa in a "Plea for Stay of Judgment," each of whom dissent from his conclusions. See also the Am. Quarterly Church Rev. for July, 1876. Farther on will be found a note to pp. 113 and 114 of the Discourse, on a map and globe supposed by Hakluyt to have been made by Verrazzano, and the former given by this navigator to Henry the Eighth.

PAGE 8.

"Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faith."

Probably no one knew better than Hakluyt that this title was granted by Pope Leo X. to King Henry VIII. for his book, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherū," &c. This book was printed by Pynson in London, in 1521, and by order of the Pope was printed at Rome in the same year. It is supposed to have been written by Bishop Fisher, for the King. The Pope's bull, conferring the title, "Given at St. Peter's in Rome, the fifth of the Ides of October, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1521," after commenting on the "notorious errors of Luther," and the great merit of the King in writing this book in defence of "the Orthodox Faith, and Evangelical Truth, now under so great peril and danger," proceeds to say, — "We, the true successor of St. Peter, whom Christ before his ascension left as his Vicar upon earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flock: presiding in this Holy See, from whence all Dignity and Titles have their source: having with our brethren maturely deliberated on these things, and with one consent unanimously decreed to bestow on your Majesty this Title, *viz.*, Defender of the Faith, and as we have by this title honored you, we likewise com-

mand all Christians that they name your Majesty by this title, and in their writings to your Majesty that immediately after the word King, they add DEFENDER OF THE FAITH." (Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, published by authority, London, 1688; Dibdin's Typog. Antiq. II. 484, 485; Strype's Ecclesiastical Mem. Vol. I. pt. 1, pp. 51-54, Oxford, 1821.)

Hakluyt was a good Protestant; and, if he had ever read this bull by which the title of which he speaks was conferred, he could not have failed to see in it the same ridiculous assertion of power and prerogative as is shown in the instrument issued by Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, by which he pretended to divide the world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, — which forms the subject of Hakluyt's eloquent denunciation in the 19th chapter of this Discourse.

PAGE 9.

"Spanishe fryers."

After De Soto had failed in his attempt to conquer Florida, and some other worthy gentlemen, among whom was Julian Sanano and Peter Ahumada, had failed to gain the consent of the Emperor and his son King Philip II. to renew that enterprise, in 1544, the idea was conceived that the matter might otherwise be brought to pass; viz., by words, instead of weapons. And, in this view, the Emperor, Philip II., and his council, "sent thither fryer Lays Cancell of Baluastro, with other fryers of the order of Saynt Dominike who offered them selves to conuerte the nations of that lande from theyr gentilitie to the fayth of Christ, and obedience to Themperoure, onely with woordes. The fryer therefore goinge forwarde on his vyage at the kynges charges in the year 1549, went aland with foure other fryers which he tooke with him, and certayne maryners, without harnesse or weapons: unto whom, as he began his preachynge, many of the Indians of the sayd Florida resorted to the sea syde, where without gyuyng audience to his woordes, they caryed him away with three other of his Companyons, and dyd eate them, whereby they suffred martyrdom for the fayth of Christ. The resydue that escaped, made

hast to the shyppe, and kept them selves for Confessours, as sum say. Many that fauoure thintente of the fryers, doe nowe consyder, that by that means the Indians could not be browght to oure fryendshippe and religion. Neverthelesse, that if it could so haue byn browght to passe, it had been better. There came of late from that shippe, one that had byn the page of Ferdinando de Sodo, who declared that the Indians hanged vp the skynnes with the heades and crownes of the said fryers in one of theyr Temples." (Richard Eden's version (fol. 319) of Gomara's *La Historia General*, &c. (Cap. XLV); Compare Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, &c., p. 13, and his citations.)

W.

PAGE 11.

"The mynisters which were sente from Geneva with Villegagnon."

The "mynisters from Geneva" here referred to were PETER RICHER and WILLIAM CHARTIER. They were not sent *with* Villegagnon, but *to* him, after he had already established his colony in Brazil. When he left France on this expedition (July 12, 1555), he had with him a Franciscan monk, the celebrated traveller and cosmographer, André Thevet; but he could not avail himself of his ministrations, in consistency with the part he was then acting of a disciple of Calvin, a follower of Coligny, and a founder under his auspices of an asylum for the Huguenots in the New World. Finding himself thus reduced to the necessity of performing in his own person the duties of a *minister* as well as of a magistrate, which, as he says, in view of the example of Uzziah, caused this proud Knight of Malta great anguish of spirit, he despatched to Calvin, by the return of the ships, an earnest request to send to the colony some such ministers as he could recommend for the work in hand.

The ships left Fort Coligny on the 31st January, 1556, and had already reached France before the 1st September, an interval sufficient, perhaps, to allow of their having made that great *détour* along the coast of Florida, Norumbega, and Baccalaos, described by Thevet, himself a passenger, but seriously drawn in question by modern critics. It was in answer to this request

that the two ministers above-named were sent to Villegagnon, and at the same time several other members of the Church at Geneva, who, though not ordained, were eminent men and thought qualified to aid the ministers in their evangelical labors.

Among the duties assigned them, that of laboring to *convert the savages* is distinctly mentioned; but there is no evidence that they made even a beginning in the performance of this duty, certainly none that they ever prosecuted it to a successful issue, or, in the words of Hakluyt, "that any one infidell was by them converted." It is, indeed, affirmed by Thevet that he himself abandoned this work, because the ministers of Calvin assumed it (*entreprenant cette charge*); but this testimony is rendered suspicious by the fact that he had left the colony more than a year before they arrived.

It does not appear, however, to have been from any fault of theirs that this part of their work was left undone. The colony having been planted and the fort erected on an island in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, they were cut off from all access to the savages, unless they could obtain permission to leave the island from Villegagnon himself; a regulation so rigidly enforced by him, that on one occasion, when De Lery and another of the Genevan company had gone to the mainland without permission from himself, though they had permission from his lieutenant, he threatened to put them in irons.

But this was not the greatest obstacle they had to encounter in discharging their mission to the native savages of Brazil. In violation of the pledges he had given to Coligny, that the Reformed Religion should be protected and promoted in his colony, Villegagnon, almost immediately after the arrival of the Geneva ministers, began to assume a hostile attitude towards them. Under the lead of one Cointa, a pupil of the Sorbonne, who had come over with some episcopal pretensions, he restrained these ministers from preaching the doctrines and performing the ceremonies of the Reformed Religion as they had learned it at Geneva. In the necessity which thus arose of defending and maintaining their fundamental principles against the assaults of Villegagnon and his confederate, Cointa, they had no time or strength left for converting the native

tribes. So violent were these theological and ecclesiastical disputes which had been revived so unexpectedly in this promised asylum of the Reformation, that one of the ministers, Chartier, was sent home to submit them to the arbitration of the Reformed Churches, and especially of Calvin. Not long after this, the other minister, Richer, and all his Genevan associates, were expelled from the fort and the island, and obliged to take passage for France in a ship heavily laden with Brazil wood, and badly supplied with provisions, at the risk of starvation and shipwreck, in order to escape the worse perils to which they were exposed on the mainland from the Portuguese and the savages. Five of the lay members of the Genevan Company, who had embarked in this ship, returned, as a choice of evils, to the fort; and three of their number were, by the express order of Villegagnon, hurled headlong from a precipice into the ocean.

Villegagnon, having thus torn off the mask of Protestantism, which he had assumed for the accomplishment of his ambitious projects, and having become reconciled to the Church of Rome, if he had ever been separated from it, soon abandoned the miserable remnant of the company of Huguenots who had followed him as their leader to this promised asylum in the New World, and returned to France.

Before the end of the year 1558, or within three years from the inception of the enterprise, those that stayed behind were driven by the Portuguese from the fort, and so far as is known lost among the Pagans they came to convert; "in this," says Cotton Mather, "more unhappy sure than that hundred thousand of their brethren who were soon after butchered at home in that horrible Massacre" of St. Bartholomew. "So," he adds, "has there been utterly lost, in a little time, a country intended for a receptacle of Protestant Churches on the American Strand." (*Magnalia*, Book I. Introduction, p. 1.)

The principal authority for this expedition is De Lery, who was one of the Genevan assistants, but not one of the ministers, as sometimes represented. His work, *Histoire d'un Voyage fait au Brésil*, was first published in 1578, and may have been seen by Hakluyt. A Latin version is found in the Second Part of De Bry. The ecclesiastical historians, Theodore Beza, De

Thou, Maimbourg, have also given accounts of this earliest colony of Protestantism in America. This subject has also been taken up by Bayle in his *Dictionnaire*, Art. *Villegagnon* and *Richer*; by Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, Book I. p. 1, Introduction; by Parkman, *Pioneers of France, &c.*, pp. 16-27; Marshall, *Christian Missions*, Vol. II. p. 162; Walsh, *Notices of Brazil*, Vol. I. p. 153; Kidder and Fletcher; Southey, *History of Brazil*; Thevet, *Cosmographie, Singularitéz, &c.* w.

PAGE 11.

"And those [mynisters] that wente with John Ribault into Florida."

There is no evidence "that ministers went with Ribault into Florida," either in Ribault's own account of his first expedition, in 1562, or in Laudonnière's account of that and the subsequent expeditions, in 1564-65. In the first of these accounts (the only one to which Hakluyt had access when he wrote this Discourse), it is represented that Coligny had been stirred up to promote this expedition, not only by his patriotic purposes, but by the hope he had "that a number of brutish people, and ignorant of Jesus Christ, might by his grace come to some knowledge of his holy laws and ordinances." And hence it may have been carelessly taken for granted by Hakluyt that ministers went with Ribault. But if the plans of Coligny embraced the founding of a Protestant asylum and the conversion of the heathen, as ultimate objects of his colony in Florida, it did not suit his policy to enter upon the immediate execution of these plans in the very inception of his enterprise. And he could hardly have sent out Genevan ministers to the exclusion of Catholic priests, without stamping the enterprise with a type of religious character which would have alienated from it Charles IX. and his court, upon whose favor it depended. And he would hardly venture upon sending out ministers and priests together, so long as he could remember the troubles which had arisen from this course only four or five years before. It appears, however, that there were some in the colony so earnest in the doctrine of Geneva, that they were

dissatisfied with this temporizing policy of their great patron, and complained loudly and bitterly that no ministers had been sent with them. w.

PAGE 11.

"As also those of our nation that went with Frobisher."

No ministers are mentioned as going with Frobisher in his first and second voyages, which were mere explorations. It is recorded, however, by Dionyse Settle, one of the historians of the second expedition of Frobisher (1577), that on their arrival at *Meta Incognita* the General and his company, falling upon their knees, offered up this as one of their chief supplications, "that by our Christian studie and endeavour those barbarous people, trained up in Paganisme and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer." (Hak. III. 34.) It was probably in pursuance of this feeling that among the orders for the third expedition (1578), which was intended to effect a settlement, one is found (added in the handwriting of Lord Burghley), to the effect that a minister or two should go this journey to administer divine service according to the Church of England. (Sainsbury's Calendar of the East Indies, p. 36.) And hence a certain "Maister Wollfall, a learned man, was appointed by her Majestie's Councell to be their Minister and Preacher." "This Maister Wollfall, being well seated and settled at home in his owne countrey, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the onely care he had to save soules, and to reforme those Infidells, if it were possible, to Christianitie." (Hakluyt, III. 84.) No settlement was effected in this expedition, and no opportunity for the worthy minister to enter upon his labors for the conversion of the Esquimaux. Even the natives, who were taken captive and carried to England, in the first and second voyages, are not known to have been "reformed to Christianitie." A report on the death of the man brought over in the second voyage, "the woman being yet alive," is found in Cal. Domestic Eliz., Vol. CXVIII. No. 40. Large

and small pictures were made of them for the Queen and the company, at prices varying from £4 to £21. (MSS. of Sir Thomas Phillipps, No. 8721.) An amusing account is given of the effect produced on one of the captives by seeing the portrait of another. (See Hak. III. 67.) w.

PAGE 11.

“*With Sir Francis Drake.*”

It would seem from the testimony of Thomas Fuller, who was on terms of intimacy with several of Drake's kinsmen, that a minister, whose name is not given, went with Drake in his first adventure (in 1567-68), in his little bark “*Judith*,” when he lost every thing at St. Juan de Ulloa. It is stated by him (Holy State, ed. 1642, p. 133) that, after this loss, “Drake was persuaded by the Minister of his ship that he might lawfully recover in value of the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him.” And it is farther represented by Fuller, that it was in pursuance of this piece of “sea Divinity” taught him by his minister, that Drake undertook to revenge himself upon that Mighty Monarch, — an undertaking in which he persevered unscrupulously, until after his capture of the *Cacafuego* in the South Sea, in 1578, when he declared himself “sufficiently satisfied and revenged.” (World Encompassed, Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 242.)

It is probable, however, that the minister here referred to was one who went with Drake in his voyage round the world in 1577-80. His name was Francis Fletcher; and his Notes (republished by the Hakluyt Society, in 1854) are one of the principal sources of information regarding that voyage. This minister is represented by Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, (quoted by Froude, Vol. XI. p. 373), as having been sent at the instance of a councillor of the Queen, a great rascal and a terrible Puritan (*grandísimo bellaco y Puritano terrible*) because he could speak the Spanish language, and who, being thus able to disseminate the Puritan heresy (*pestilencia*) in the Spanish colonies, was hence regarded as a most dangerous person.

Of this same Mr. Fletcher it is reported that, having on one

occasion been wanting in his duty, he was brought to the fore-castle, where Drake, representing on his own deck the person of his Sovereign, as head of Church as well as State, pronounced him excommunicated, cut off from the Church of God, and given over to the Devil, and left him chained by the ankle to a ring-bolt. This punishment, however, having been inflicted half in jest, was not of long duration, and after a day or two the offending chaplain was absolved, and returned to his duty. (Froude, Vol. XI. p. 396; *World Encompassed*, as above, p. 176).

W.

PAGE 13.

"Our trade in Barbarie."

The dangers of the English trade in Barbary had arisen from its very beginning, in 1551, not so much from the Mohammedan powers on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, as from the Christian powers on the northern coast. The English trade had from the first been regarded by the several States of Barbary with peculiar favor, and had been placed on a footing more advantageous than that of any other Christian state. The neighboring Christian powers, on the contrary, though contending with each other for the exclusive possession of the trade of the Levant, were united in opposing the intrusion of the English, regarding them both as outsiders and as heretics. "The Portugals," says James Thomas (who went in the second English voyage to Barbary, in 1552), "were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, and also in this, they gave out in England by their merchants, that if they took us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threatens and menaces." (Hak. II. Pt. 2, p. 9.)

On the attempt of the English to confirm this trade by establishing an embassy in Morocco, in 1577, they encountered, in like manner, the opposition of the Christian powers. The English Ambassador, Edmund Hogan, reports to Queen Elizabeth, that, on his landing in Morocco, although he was received with diplomatic civility by the representatives of the Christian

powers there resident, he knew this was more by the king's command than from any good-will of their own; "for," he says. "some of them, although they speake me fair, hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales;" and that, on his presentation at the court, he was given to understand by the emperor that the King of Spain "had made great meanes [menace?] that if the Queenes Majesty of England sent any [Ambassador] unto him, that he would not give him any credit or entertainment." (Hak. II. Pt. 2, p. 65.)

It appears that within a few years after this date all the Christian powers on the north coast of the Levant had formed a league among themselves not to suffer the English ships to come into those parts. And accordingly the English ships trading thither were directed by their owners to keep clear, as far as possible, of the Christian coast.

It would sometimes happen, however, that an English ship in the Barbary trade would be driven on the Christian coast, and, even while England was still nominally at peace with the Christian powers on the Levant, would then be liable to the treatment here described.

We do not find, either in the author's own Collections or elsewhere, any instance of an English ship answering *exactly* to the case which he has here described; although he speaks of the case as being one which had actually occurred, "was comitted to printe, and confessed by all our marchants." He may, perhaps, have had in mind the very similar instance of the bark "Reynolds," to which he refers again in the two following pages, and which he has given at length in his edition of 1589 (p. 185). Although this bark was not driven literally upon the coast of Spain, but was seized somewhere on the west part of Malta, the case is very similar, and well illustrates the peculiar dangers to which English ships in the Barbary trade were exposed at that time.

W.

PAGE 13.

"At the deathe of the prince in Barbarie."

It devolved on his Janizaries to elect his successor. As the Janizaries were a heterogencous body of ten or twelve thousand

mercenary soldiers, recruited always in countries foreign to that in which they were stationed, and as it was necessary that their choice should be unanimous, it often happened that considerable time elapsed before a valid election could be made. During this interval, the Government was effectually suspended, and the country given over to "the spoil," in which the English traders fared no better than others.

w.

PAGE 19.

"The contries . . . firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh, from Florida northewarde to 67 degrees," &c.

At the time Hakluyt is here writing (1584), there were probably no settlements in North America north of St. Helena, situated near the old Port Royal of Ribault. St. Augustine was founded by Menendez in 1565. The previous explorations of the coast, since its discovery by Ponce de Leon in 1513, reaching to a much higher latitude than either, resulted in no permanent occupation. Although the Spaniards at this time gave the name "Florida" to the whole coast indefinitely northward and westward of the territory now bearing that name, Hakluyt, it will be seen, uses the term in a more restricted sense. In the passage quoted above, he says that Cabot discovered the coast "from Florida northewarde to 67 degrees." In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the second volume of his "Principal Navigations," 1599, he says that it is universally acknowledged, even by foreign writers, "that all that mighty tract of land from 67 degrees northward to the latitude *almost* of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commandant of King Henry VII.; and the south part thereof, before any other Christian people, of late hath been planted with divers English Colonies by the royal consent of her Sacred Majesty, under the broad seal of England," &c. He here refers to the Virginia colonists sent out by Raleigh, who had planted north of the region he designates as Florida. Again, in a marginal note of his third volume (p. 9), he says that Cabot discovered "the northern parts of that land, and from thence as far *almost* as Florida." And, as to the degree of latitude

reached by Cabot in sailing south, Hakluyt, in his folio of 1589 (p. 514), and also in the third volume of his larger work, quotes Peter Martyr, as saying "that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea Fretum Herculeum"; that is, to about latitude 36° N.

But Hakluyt, in the first and third chapter of this Discourse, is calling attention to the large region from the thirtieth to the sixty-third, and even to the sixty-seventh, degree of north latitude, as "not yet in any Chrestian princes actual possession," and is urging the English government to take possession and colonize.

Raleigh's Patent (of 25th March, 1584), like that of Gilbert's, designated no particular spot on the coast, but gave a privilege for a space of two hundred leagues adjoining the place or places selected for settlement, not already in possession of the subjects of any Christian prince in amity with England. His first expedition, commanded by Amadas and Barlow, was a voyage of observation and discovery, under instructions, the particulars of which have never been published. Reaching the coast somewhere near the southern part of what is now the State of North Carolina, they ranged northward for one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbor. Entering the first haven which offered, they landed on the Island of Wocoken, in about latitude 35° N.; and, 13th July, 1584, took possession of the country for the Queen of England. Reaching home, by the middle of September, they reported in glowing colors the discovery of a region called by the Indians "Wingandacoa." To this region the name of "Virginia" was now given, and here Raleigh made his several attempts to plant a colony of the English race. There was no declaration as to how much territory "Virginia" embraced: whether it was intended to include all that which by the terms of the Patent could be claimed by its proprietor. The first map on which the name appears is that published in Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, 1587, inscribed thus, just north of latitude of 40° , — "Virginia, 1584." The name next appears on the map published by De Bry, 1590, to accompany the reprint of Hariot's "briefe and true report," and covering the region between Chesapeake Bay and Cape Lookout, or between latitude

$34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 37° N. On the finely executed map of the world made a year or two later, by Emeric Mollineux, for Hakluyt, "Virginia" has a conspicuous place; as it also has on a sectional map of Wytfliet, 1597.

Although Raleigh failed to plant a permanent colony here, and on the 7th March, 1588-89, admitted divers others to the privileges of his Patent, in hopes of gaining assistance in prosecuting the enterprise, the name which the virgin Queen gave to the spot remained, and superseded all others; and in English geographical nomenclature soon spread over the whole coast indefinitely northward to the region of New France. English discovery soon became continuous along these coasts. The voyages of Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth, made in the years 1602, 1603, and 1605, to the shores afterwards called New England, were described as made to Virginia, or to the north part of Virginia. After Raleigh's attainder, King James issued another patent, 10 April, 1606, to sundry persons, including Richard Hakluyt, one of Raleigh's assigns in 1589, for the colonization of Virginia. In this he authorized the formation of two companies to settle the country, under that name, between latitude 34° and 45° N.

In Chapter XVIII. of this Discourse, Hakluyt examines the title of England to this territory, and, as will be seen, relies principally on the discovery by the Cabots, or rather by Sebastian Cabot. As we have said in a note further on, our author neither here, nor in his printed works, discusses the question as to the comparative agency of John Cabot and his son Sebastian in this discovery; and nothing could be further from the truth than the accusation brought against him by Richard Biddle, that he intentionally mutilated the evidence that bore in favor of Sebastian. Hakluyt dealt with the main question which lay between Spain and England, as to the priority of the discovery of the continent, overlooking wholly the minor and incidental points which have come up since his day. And he seems, also, not to have been aware that some of the narratives he cites in proof of the voyage of discovery relate, probably, to a second voyage, of which he appears to take no notice. He gathers up all the evidence he can find relating to the early enterprise of the Cabots, much of it very unsatisfactory

as to data and authenticity, and puts it all into his volumes, with little editorial supervision.

The principal fact, however, that the Cabots discovered North America before Columbus discovered the mainland of South America, is well established. The question as to how far they sailed along the coast to the south, either in the first or second voyage, we regard as more doubtful.

The celebrated Dr. John Dee was particularly distinguished, among other gifts, for his geographical attainments; and he was often consulted by the principal navigators of his day. In his Diary, published in 1842 by the Camden Society, we learn that he was visited by such persons as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Adrian Gilbert, Mr. Hawkins, John Davis, and others; and of his dining with Sir Walter Raleigh. Nov. 28, 1577, he says: "I spake with the Quene hora quinta; I spake with Mr. Secretary Walsingham. I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland, and Friseland." When Gilbert and his friends were preparing for his last and fatal expedition, Peckham, the principal adventurer, is also found consulting Dr. Dee. 1582, July 16th. — "A meridie hor. 3½ cam Sir George Peckham to me to know the tytyle for Norombega in respect of Spain and Portugall parting the whole world's destilleries."

Purchas (IV. 1812, 1813) has a long dissertation on the title to this part of the New World, and on "the English right by discovery, Possession, præscription," &c.

PAGE 20.

"John Ribault writeth thus in the first leafe of his discovrse, extant in print both in Frenche and Englishe."

The Discourse of Jean Ribault here referred to is that which first appeared in English in 1563, under this title: "The whole and true discouerye of Terra Florida (englished the Flourishing lande) Conteyning aswell the wonderfull straunge natures and maners of the people, with the mervylous commodities and treasures of the country. . . . Never founde out before the last yere 1562. Written in Frenche by Captaine Ribauld, the fyrst that whollye discoured the same. And nowe newly set forthe in Englishe the xxx of May. 1563. Prynted at London by

Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket." A copy of this rare tract is in the British Museum. Hakluyt reprinted it in 1582, in his "Divers Voyages," under this heading: "The true and last discoverie of Florida made by Captaine John Ribault in the yeere 1562. *Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce*, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit." Near the close of his "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the "Divers Voyages," Hakluyt says: "The last treatise, of John Ribault, is a thing that hath been alreadie printed, but not nowe to be had, vnless I had caused it to be printed againe." In a note by the learned editor of the "Divers Voyages," reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, at page 94, he says, "The French original [of Ribault's voyage] is not known to exist, and it is doubtful if it ever was printed." It will be noticed that Hakluyt says, in the text above cited, that this discourse is "extant *in print*, bothe *in Frenche* and Englishe."

PAGES 21, 22.

"*Doctor Monardus.*"

Nicholas Monardes was a learned Spanish physician, born about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and died in 1578. He published at Seville, in 1565, 1569, and 1571, various treatises relating to the rare and singular virtues of the plants discovered in the New World; and, in 1574, embodied these in one volume, entitled "*Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias occidentales, que sirven en medicina*," &c. The greater part of this volume was translated into English by John Frampton, and published in London, in 1577, entitled "*Joyfull Newes out of the newfound world*," &c. A second edition was published in 1580, and a third in 1596, containing an additional fourth book, "which treateth of two medicines excellent against all venom, which are the *Bezaar* stone, and the Herbe *Escuerconera*," also a dialogue on Iron, and a treatise on Snow. This work of Monardes was also translated into Latin and Italian. On fol. 46 (the fol. cited by Hakluyt in the text) of the English translation of 1580 is the passage quoted here by him; the last sentence is from fol. 48.

PAGE 22.

"*Verarsana, fullinge in the latitude of 34 degrees, describeth the scituation,*" &c.

The narrative following is taken from the author's version, as published in his "*Divers Voyages*," 1582, translated from the Italian in Ramusio, III. 420-22, Venice, 1556.

PAGE 25.

"*Another Frenche capitaine of Diepe, which had bene alongest this coaste, geveth this testimony . . . as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius.*"

The passage in Italian quoted on this page is only found in Ramusio: "The inhabitants of this country are a very pleasant, tractable, and peaceful people. The country is abounding with all sorts of fruit. There grow oranges, almonds, wild grapes, and many other fruits of odoriferous trees. The country is named by the inhabitants Nurumbega."

The French captain here referred to is supposed, by Estancelin, to be the famous Jean Parmentier of Dieppe; and M. D'Avezac considers the author of the "Discourse" in Ramusio to be Pierre Crignon, Parmentier's friend and companion. (See Introduction to the *Bref Récit* of Cartier, p. vii., Tross, Paris, 1863; Murphy's *Voyage of Verrazzano*, pp. 85, 86; Major's Introduction to the "Early Voyage to Terra Australis," p. vi.; Kohl's *Documentary History of Maine*, pp. 227, 228, and 231; compare Brevoort's "*Verrazano the Navigator*," p. 107.)

PAGES 26, 101.

"*And this yere, 1584, the Marques de la Roche . . . was caste awaye over againste Burwage.*"

"*Was cast away upon the trauers of Burwage.*"

Not improbably the old seaport of "Brouage," not far from Rochelle, once considered the "second harbor in France," but now deserted, was here intended. *Travers*, or more properly *à travers*, means *opposite*, or *over against*. Hakluyt may have

been quoting from some French document, and used the word "travers" inadvertently in the second passage quoted above. This notice of an expedition of the Marquis de la Roche, in 1584, has never before met our eye.

In 1577 and 1578, commissions were issued by Henry III. to the Marquis de la Roche, authorizing settlements in the *terres-neuves*, and the adjacent countries newly discovered ; but no settlement was made. Whether any expeditions had been fitted out by him before the disastrous one related in the text, we are ignorant. In 1598, another grant was made to La Roche by Henry IV., for colonizing New France. His *lettres patentes* may be seen in Lescarbot, 422-29, in which he is styled "Lieut.-general desdits païs de Canada, Hochelaga, Terres-neuves, Labrador, riviere de la grande Baye, de Noreمبرque (c'est la riviere de Canada) et terres adjacentes," &c. He had large powers conferred upon him. Collecting a load of colonists, including forty convicts from the prisons, he set sail in a small vessel, and, arriving off the coast of Nova Scotia, landed the convicts on Sable Island, with a view to their removal when he should have selected a fit site for the capital of his new dominion. In the mean time, a sudden gale of wind from the west drove his vessel from the coast, and pursued him homeward. The convicts remained, and dragged out a miserable existence. Five years afterward only twelve of them were alive, and these were brought home to France. Broken by misfortune, La Roche is said to have "died miserably." (Murphy, *Voyage of Verrazzano*, p. 37; Lescarbot, pp. 420, 421; Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, &c., pp. 210-12.)

PAGE 28.

"*The very wordes of Vasques de Coronado . . . written to Don Antonio di Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico.*"

These extracts are copied from the third volume of Ramusio, where the entire Relation is published. Hakluyt subsequently printed an English version of it in his third volume of "*Voyages*," and the translation below is taken from that:—

"In this towne where I nowe remaine there may bee some

two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, there may be together five hundred. There is another towne nere this, which is one of the seuen, and it is somewhat bigger then this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted unto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. . . . They haue painted mantles, like those which I send vnto your lordship. They have no cotton wooll growing . . . yet they weare mantles thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. . . . And they have Turqueses, I thinke, good quantitie. . . . There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emeralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in color somewhat like Granates . . . and other stones of Christall . . . and Guinie cockes . . . excellent good and greater then those of Mexico. . . . There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence. . . . They eate the best cakes that ener I sawe . . . in any place. . . . They haue most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a days journey from hence. . . . Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tails. . . . Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I haue seene . . . and the skins of wilde bores. There is game of deere, ounces, and very great stagges. . . . They travel eight dayes journey vnto certaine plaines lying towards the North Sea. In this cuntry there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen. . . . I send your honor one oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earrings of the same, and fiteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses. . . . In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and siluer, which those which are skilfull in mineral matters esteeme to be very good," &c. (Hakluyt, III. 377, 378, 380.)

PAGE 30.

“And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in his Generall Historie of the Indies, fol. 297 and 298, in treatinge of the seconde voyage of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado . . . saith firste of the contrie about Tigues.”

In citing these brief extracts from Gomara's "General History," Hakluyt quotes from an Italian version, of which there were more than one extant at this time. We give here the original Spanish from the edition of Juan Steelsio, published at Antwerp in 1554, fols. 273, 274, with Hakluyt's translation:—

“Ay en aq̃lla ribera melones, y algodón blanco, y colorado, de que hazen muy mas anchas mantas, que en otras partes de Indias.” “In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels then in other parts of the Indies.” (Hakluyt, III. 381.)

“And of Quivira he saith”:—

“Esta Quiuira en quarenta grados, es tierra templada, de buenas aguas, de muchas yeruas, ciruelas, moras, nuezes, melones, y vuas, que maduran bien; no ay algodón, y visten cueros de vacas, y venados. Vieron por la costa naos, que trayan arcatrazes de oro, y de plata en las proas, cõ mercaderias, y pensaron ser del Catayo, y China, porq̃, señalauan auer nauegado treynta dias.”

“Quivira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrie and hath very good waters, and much grasse, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton; and they apparell themselues with ox-hides and deere skinnies. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alca-traizes (or pellicanes) of golde and silver in their prows, and were laden with marchandizes, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya and China, because they showed our men by signs that they had sayled thirtie dayes.” (Hakluyt, III. 381.)

PAGE 30.

"Touching Newfound land . . . those that were there the laste yeere, 1583 . . . with Sir Humfry Gilbert," &c.

Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth, County Devon, in the preface to "A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," London, 1620, says, — "In a voyage to that countrey about 36 yeeres since, I had the command of a worthy Ship of 220 Tun, set forth by one Master Crooke of South-hampton: At that time Sir Humfrey Gilbert, a Devonshire Knight, came thither with two good ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent from the late most renowned Queene Elizabeth, and in her name tooke possession of that countrey, in the Harbour of S. Johus, whereof I was an eye-witnesse."

PAGE 30.

"A learned discourse, intituled, 'A Trve Reporte,' " &c.

The full title of this book is : —

"A Trve Reporte of the late Discoveries, and Possession, taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande of the Newfound Landes: By that valiaunt and worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein is also brievely sette downe her Highnesse lawfull Tytle therevnto, . . . London, by I. C. for Iohn Hinde, 1583" 4to.

It is dedicated to Secretary Walsingham, and signed G. P. The full name, Sir George Peckham, is given by Hakluyt, who reprints the Discourse in his folio of 1589, and in that of 1600.

Peckham was "the chiefe adventurer and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfound Land." His book was written soon after the return of the "Golden Hinde" (Edward Hayes, captain and owner) to Falmouth, 22d September, 1583; at which time some hopes seem to have been entertained that Sir Humphrey Gilbert might have weathered the storm, and would reappear in England. The book is an urgent appeal for colonization, and for a new attempt to be made under the patent of Gilbert, which had not yet expired. Many of the facts and arguments adduced here are similar to those

used by Hakluyt in this Discourse, and he must occasionally have drawn from it. The same may be said of the Discourse of Captain Carlyle, written in April, 1583, in advocacy of the voyage of Gilbert, before the sailing of that expedition on the 11th June of that year, and published soon after. This was also printed by Hakluyt in his folios as above. Some considerations relating to trade and merchandise, urged by Carlyle, of which a great advantage was predicted for England by this scheme of colonization, were adopted by Hakluyt in this Discourse. Mention should also be made of the Report of Edward Hayes, captain of the "Golden Hinde," on "the voyage and succeſſe thereof," of Sir H. Gilbert, written evidently after the Report of Sir George Peckham was penned, and after the fate of Gilbert was made certain. This also finds a place in Hakluyt's volumes.

PAGES 31, 32.

Letter of Stephen Parmenius. He was in one of Gilbert's ships, the "Delight," which foundered at sea.

The letter dated "In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6th of August, 1583," is printed in Hakluyt, III. 161-163, with an English translation. The following is his rendering of the passages he quotes in the text:—

"Of Fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them that travell to these parts. The hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fish. The whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes, and of them some are very olde, and some yong: all the grasse here is long and tall and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne, for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing they may easily be framed for the vse of man. Here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing up like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the countrey. . . .

"It is unknowne whither any mettals lye vnder the hilles . . . the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to have some mynes in them. We mooued our Admirall to set the woods a fire so

that wee might haue space and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof issue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port the fish neuer came to the place about it for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ran into the riuers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dried by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserued from burning. . . . The ayr upon land is indifferent cleare, but at sea towards the east there is nothing els but perpetuall mists," &c.

A memoir of Parmenius, with an English translation of his Latin poem, in Hakluyt, addressed to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, before the writer intended to embark with that navigator, will be found in 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. IX. 49-75. They are by the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D.

PAGES 32, 33.

"To passe from Newfoundland to 60 degrees, I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis."

The passage cited from Ramusio, III. 417, was not written by the navigator himself, as would be inferred from the language of Hakluyt. No account of the voyages of either of the brothers Corterial exists, written by the navigators themselves. Ample memorials of them, however, are preserved, and we can do no better service to the reader than to refer him to the note of Dr. Kohl in the first volume of our "Documentary History," pp. 164-173, who cites largely from the work of the learned Kunstmann, entitled "Die Entdeckung Amerika's, München, 1859." See also Biddle's Cabot, pp. 237-244. The following is an English translation of the passage in the Discourse:—

"Many captains have sailed to that part of the new world which runs towards the north and north-west, over against our habitable part of Europe; but the first (so far as is known) was Gasparo Cortereale, a Portuguese, who went there in 1500 with

two caravels, thinking to find some strait through which he could get to the Spice Islands by a shorter route than going around Africa. He sailed so far that he came to a place where there was very great cold, and in the sixtieth degree of latitude he found a river covered with snow, from which he gave it the name, Rio Nevado [Snowed River], and he hadn't the courage to go farther. All this coast, which runs two hundred leagues from the said Rio Nevado to the port of Malvas, on the fifty-sixth degree, was seen to be full of people and well inhabited; and landing he captured some of the natives to carry off with him. He also discovered many islands along the coast, all inhabited, and he gave a name to each one. The inhabitants are tall, well-proportioned men, but somewhat crafty; and they paint their faces and their whole bodies with different colors for ornament. They wear silver and copper bracelets, and cover themselves with skins of martens and various other animals sewed together; in the winter they wear them with the fur inside, in the summer with the fur outside. For the most part their food is fish rather than any thing else, and especially salmon, of which they have a great abundance; and although there are many kinds of birds and of fruits there, yet they make no account of any thing but fishes. Their dwellings are made of timber, of which they have plenty, as there are mighty and huge woods; and in place of tiles they cover them with the skins of fishes, which they catch very large and skin them. He saw many birds and other animals, especially bears entirely white."

PAGE 34.

"The reste of this coaste from 60 to 63 is described by Fro-bisher."

Sir Martin Frobisher, an eminent naval hero, was a native of Yorkshire. In 1576, he was sent out by Queen Elizabeth, with three vessels, to search for the North-west Passage. He discovered a cape on the northerly coast of America, to which he gave the name of "Elizabeth's Foreland," and also the strait which bears his own name. He was prevented by ice from entering the strait, but he entered a bay in latitude 63° N.,

and sailed many leagues. He landed somewhere to the northward of Labrador, and kidnapped one of the natives. A piece of black stone which he brought home with him was pronounced by the London goldsmiths to be richly impregnated with gold. This only served to inspire hopes which subsequent experience proved delusive. Next year, with one ship and two barks, he sailed again for the north-west coast; and, landing near Frobisher's Straits, he brought away more natives and more ore, which latter finally proved but "dross." In 1578, Frobisher set sail with fifteen ships, for the purpose of making a settlement in the country. But the design proved a failure. Soon after landing, a violent storm separated the fleet; and, although every ship returned to England, forty persons died on the voyage. The ships were freighted with the pretended gold-ore from the mines, "which proved worse than good stone, whereby many were deceived to their utter undoing." In 1577 was published "A true report" of the voyage of that year, written by Dionyse Settle, one of the company. In the following year was published "A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie," &c., written by George Best, who sailed with Frobisher, giving an account of the three voyages. This has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, with ample notes.

PAGES 39, 40.

"*In the yere of our Lorde 1564, . . . a subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden . . . wrote a notable discourse,*" &c. See also p. 50.

We have not been able to find any other reference to this discourse or its author. It is very well known that the English merchants residing in Antwerp, in consequence of the jealousies fomented against them, the restrictions laid upon their trade, and the bringing in there of the inquisition, removed this year (1564), with all their effects, to Embden. In the latter part of the previous year, negotiations had been entered into between the English Government and the Countess of East Friseland (of which Embden was the capital), and her sons the Earls, in relation to this movement, which was

brought about through the intervention of Utenhovius, the chief member of the Dutch Church in London, a man well known to the Countess, and held in high esteem by her and Archbishop Grindall. A full account of it may be seen in Strype's History of the Life of Grindall, Oxford, 1821, chap. ix.

The husband of the countess-mother, who now governed the country, was Enno II., born 1505, died 1540; married, in 1530, Ann, daughter of John IV., of Oldenburg, born 1501, died 1575. Their children were: 1. Ezhard, born 24th June, 1532, died 1st March, 1599; 2. Christopher, born 1536, died 1566; 3. John, born 1538, died 19th September, 1591. The second son was lame and feeble, and took no part in public affairs, and soon after died. (See Anderson's Royal Genealogies.)

It is not improbable that some member of the Dutch Church in St. Austin Friars, London, — perhaps Utenhovius himself, — was the author of the discourse to which Hakluyt here refers.

PAGE 40.

“In the 22d booke of Sleydans Comentaries.”

The edict of Charles V., 1550, appears in Sleidan's Commentaries (Cap. XXII. p. 678 *et seq.*, first published in Latin, in 1555), in a summary of its provisions for the detection and punishment of the Lutherans and Bucerons. The following passages relating to the city of Antwerp are taken from the English version, published in London in 1560, “translated by John Daus.”

“When this decre was proclaimed, many were sore astonished, especially the high duch and English marchants, which occupy the traffick of marchandise in themperors townes & countries, especially at Andwarpe, a great nōbre. Wherefore they wer of this mind, y^t vnles the decre wer mitigated, thei wold remoue to another place: yea mani of thē shutting vp their shops purposed to depart, for thanoyding of y^e dāger. The Senate of Andwarp also, & thother citezens ther, which saw what a wōderful losse this wold be to thē, wer in a great perplexity: & whē thinquisitors came thither, they wistode thē withal theyr indeuor, & riding to the Lady regēt, declare

vnto her, what a losse it shuld be not to thẽ only, but also to the whole region, if this decre take place. Wherefore the matter was, in the same city, for y^e which the decre was chiefly made, by reasõ of sōdry natiōs & people there, appeased for y^e time." (Fol. ccclxvii.)

"For Mary Queene of Hungary, Regent of Flaunders, was come thither [to Augusta], boeth for other matters and also for this cause chiefly, that the proclamation lately set forth in Flaunders and those parties might be mitigated. For vnless it were so, she sayde it would come to passe, that Andwerpe, which is nowe the beste frequented marte towne in the whole worlde, shoulde fall in decay and lose her former beautie. Moreover that ther was great daunger in all places of an insurrection, in case the thinge should be put in execution. The Emperour very hardly acconsented at the laste, and altering those thinges that concerned marchauntes straungers, taketh away the name of inquisitione abhorred of all men, the residue he commaundeth to take place and to be observed." (Fol. ccclxix.)

PAGE 41.

"*The opinion of that excellent man, Mr. Roberte Thorne, extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea,*" &c.

Hakluyt refers to the place in his own "Divers Voyages," 1582, where this letter is printed, as per a copy of the original edition now before us.

PAGE 47.

"*Chichimici—Myles Phillipps.*"

Miles Phillipps was one of John Hawkins's sailors, who, with David Ingram (see p. 115 and note) and one hundred and twelve others, was set on shore on the coast of Mexico, in 1568. Phillipps's narrative follows Ingram's in Hakluyt's folio of 1589, and is reprinted in his larger work (III. 469-87), followed there by an account written by another of the sailors, Job Hortop. These two went to the city of Mexico, while Ingram went north.

The “Chichimici” described by Phillips were native Indians of the country. Gomara devotes a brief chapter to them in his “Historia de Mexico.” The following is Thomas Nicholas’s quaint rendering of him:—

“In the lande nowe called new *spayne* are dyvers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion that the stocke of most antiquitie, is the people nowe called *Chichimecas*, whiche proceeded out of the house of *Aculhuacan*, which standeth beyond *Xalizo*, about the yeare of our Lorde 720. Many of this generation did inhabite aboute the lake of *Tenuchtitlan*, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no King, nor yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in caues in the Moūtaines. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, nor vsed bread of any sorte. They did maintayne themselves with rootes, hearbes, and silvester frutes: and beeing a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they kylled deare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and foule, which they eate also, not sodden or rosted, but rawe, and dried in the sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizardes, and other filthye beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same dyet. But although they liued such a bestiall life, & being a people so barbarous, yet in their deuclish religion they were verye deuout. They worshipped the Sunne, unto whome they vsed to offer Snakes, Lizards, and such other beasts. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of foule, from the degree of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vsed not sacrifice of māslaughter, nor had any Idolles, no not so muche as of the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only God. They married but with one woman, & in no degree of kindred. They were a stout and a warlike people, by reason whereof they were the Lordes of the land.” (“The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India,” &c., London, 1578, pp. 378, 379.)

PAGES 47, 125.

"Monsieur Poplynier."

The work of L. V. de la Popelliniere was published at Paris in 1582, in the French language. On folio 34 *et seq.* of the Second Book will be found the "storye" to which he here refers. Although published four years before the account of Gourgues's voyage to Florida was issued by Basanier, his narrative will be found to include that voyage. The work published by Basanier, principally written by Laudonnière, giving a history of the attempts of the French Huguenots to establish a colony in Florida, "had been concealed many years" in manuscript. It was published in Paris in 1586, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh; and in the following year was translated into English by Hakluyt. It is included in his third volume of voyages, 1600.

PAGE 53.

"Hath hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life."

The life of William of Nassau was several times attempted by the hired assassins of Philip. In March, 1582, he was dangerously wounded by a ball, and barely escaped. Two years later, in July, 1584, while Hakluyt was in London writing this Discourse, another attempt was but too successful. (See Froude's England, XI. 16, 17, 561, 566, XII. 13.)

PAGES 54, 58.

"Mounsieur de Aldegonnde."

This author's name was Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde. He was born in Brussels, in 1538, and died in 1598. He was a celebrated writer, diplomat, and Calvinistic theologian. He was burgomaster of Antwerp, and at one time minister to England, where Hakluyt probably knew him. "There were few more brilliant characters than he in all Christendom," says Motley, in an interesting notice of this remarkable man, in his United Netherlands, I. 145 *et seq.* Meursius, who gives a list of his publications, says of him:—

"How great a master of politics and history he was, appears from that tract of his wherein he treats of the *Designs of the Spaniards*, who, aiming at universal monarchy, left nothing unattempted. In that piece, like a Prophet, he foretold many political events, which have actually happened in Great Britain, Poland, and France." (Bayle's Dict. IX. 27.)

The work to which Hakluyt refers in this Discourse, "extant in Latin, Italian, French, English, and Dutch," was published not long before the time at which he is writing. The only copy of it we have seen is a reprint of the Latin edition of 1584, included in the collected writings of Marnix, printed at Bruxelles in 1856-60. Its title is, "Ad potentissimos ac serenissimos reges, principes, reliquosque amplissimos christiani orbis ordines, seria de reip. christianæ statu ejusque salute atque incolumitate conservanda, Germani cujusdam nobilis et patriæ amantis viri commonefactio. M.D.LXXXIII." Except the reference by Hakluyt, no copy in English has ever come under our notice.

PAGE 64.

"CAP. IX."

This chapter must be regarded as the "note gathered by an excellent Frenchman," referred to at the close of the preceding chapter. "Gulfe *Dowse*," on p. 66, may be a misspelling for "Gulfe *Dulce*." The story of the river, cut from the city of Mexico to Rio di Maio, in Florida, is only a specimen of the inexact knowledge of the country then existing.

In the following chapter, "Aeriaba" and "Corsal" on p. 69, may be intended for "Uraba" and "Curasoa."

PAGE 77.

"And thus farr oute of the large volume of *Don Bartholmewe de las Cusas*," &c.

Hakluyt's citation is from a translation of Las Casas, published in London in 1583, entitled "The Spanish Colonie, or, Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West-Indies, called the newe Worlde, for the space of xl yeeres," &c. Purchas IV. 1567, *et seq.*, quotes largely from this translation. The original was published at Seville in 1552.

PAGE 86.

"In my booke of voyadges."

Hakluyt here refers directly to his "Divers Voyages," published two years before, in 1582, in which the Patent granted to John Cabot and his three sons, from which he here quotes, may be found.

PAGES 91, 92.

"He that caste away the Admirall . . . this tyme twelve moneths."

In his first folio, p. 700, Hakluyt publishes "A Relation of Richard Clarke, of Weymouth, master of the shippe called the Delight, going for the discoverie of Norumbega with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the shippe and men imputed to his ouersight." This vessel, the "Admiral," of one hundred and twenty tons, was cast away on Sable Island, 29th August, 1583. This shows the time at which Hakluyt is here writing. Farther on, at page 101, he speaks of an event taking place "in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste, of this yere, 1584." He is now about two-thirds through his book, which was finished, before the return of Raleigh's two barks, "about the middest of September."

PAGE 97.

"The folly of John Grijalua for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche contrie of Iucaton."

Hakluyt copies the story from Cravaliz's Italian version of Gomara's History of Mexico, entitled, "Historia del illustriss. et valorosis. capitano don Ferdinando Cortes," &c., Rome, 1556. We will not trouble the reader by quoting the original Spanish, now so easily accessible, but will give the quaint English version of Thomas Nicolas, published in 1578:—

"John de Grijalua went to Xucatan, and there foughte with the Indians of Champoton, and was hurt. From thēce he entred the riuer Tauasco, which Grijalua hadde so named, in

the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchaunge golde, cloth of cotten wooll, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at Saint John de Vlhua, and tooke possession for the king, in the name of James Valasques, and there also exchanged his haberdashe wares for Golde and Conerlets of cotten, and feathers; and if he hadde considered his good fortune, he would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as Cortes was. But suche wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in trafike of his Marchandize, and to discover whether that land of Xucatan were an Iland, or no. . . . But when he came home [that is, to Cuba, of which Valasquez was governor] the Gouvernor hauing hearde of his proceedings, would not looke upon him, whiche was hys just reward." (The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, &c., p. 11.)

PAGES 98, 99.

"The like story wee have . . . of Vasques de Coronado."

Hakluyt here cites an Italian version of Gomara's "General Historie." The account is in Cap. CCXIV. of the original Spanish. The following, from Vol. III. pp. 381, 382, of Hakluyt's larger work, is his translation of the quoted passages: "Francis Vasques fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some took to be for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey. . . . It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoga very much that the army returned home: for hee had spent above three-score thousand pesos of golde in the enterprise. . . . Many sought to have dwelt there; but Francis Vasquez de Coronada, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselves in a so poore a countrey, and so far from succour. They travelled aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey."

PAGE 100.

"I had not so soone set furthe this to our companie, but many of them offred to tary there."

"And I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria," &c.

In Hakluyt's reprint of Ribault's narrative in his "Divers Voyages," there are radical errors, no doubt originally typographical, in each of these sentences. In the first sentence, for "offred" is substituted "affraid"; and in the second, for "I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler," is the strange reading, "have left unto the forehead and rulers." These are on the leaf of Sig. G3, of the original edition of "Divers Voyages." The same errors exist in Hacket's original tract, and they were faithfully copied by Hakluyt's printer. Having the French original to consult, Hakluyt now corrects these errors, the first of which was sufficiently obvious.

PAGES 102, 103.

"Published and printed in Englishe before them."

The meaning of the author here is a little obscure.

If he means to say that the knowledge of the discovery of the Bay of St. Lawrence was published and printed in English, before it was published by other nations, he is mistaken. His language is that of reproach to England, for not availing herself of her early information. He is speaking of what had been "revealed to us by books," and not of English discoveries.

PAGE 109.

"The discoverie . . . made in the northe by Sir Nicholas Zeny, Knighte, and Mr. Anthony, his brother, in the yere 1380."

The narrative of the discoveries of the Zeni brothers was first published by Francesco Marcolini at Venice, in 1558, in a small volume, in 12mo, 63 leaves. A copy is in the library of Mrs. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R.I., having the rare original map. It was reprinted in the third edition of the second volume of Ramusio's collection, published also at Venice,

in 1574; and this is the volume Hakluyt refers to in our Discourse. From this volume also he had translated the narrative for his "Divers Voyages," published in 1582.

These voyages of the Zeni have for a long time been a puzzle to historians; and, while some have been willing to admit that there might be a basis of truth in the narrative, others were quite disposed to throw the whole account aside as a fiction. And the minds of scholars were gradually settling down into the conviction that the latter alternative must finally be accepted. Within a few years, however, the Hakluyt Society has reprinted the Zeno narrative in a new translation, edited, with notes and an introduction, by Richard Henry Major, F.S.A., &c., London, 1874. Adopting the suggestion of John Reinhold Forster, in his "History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North," that the "Zichmni" of the Zeno story is the Venetian's rendering of "Sinclair," Mr. Major proceeds, by the aid of contemporary history, to identify the most important places mentioned in the narrative, which have hitherto been regarded as inexplicable. He also removes a serious objection by showing that the date given in the text, 1380, should be 1390. He concludes his learned introduction, to which we gladly refer the reader for a complete history of the points involved in the discussion, with the following: "The book which has been declared to be 'one of the most puzzling in the whole circle of literature,' will henceforth be no puzzle at all."

A *résumé* of Mr. Major's essay may be seen in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1874, prepared by the author at the request of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., the President of the Society. A heliotype *fac-simile* of the original map is published with it.

PAGES 60, 113.

"As the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris."

"Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, shewed me in Paris this present somer, a greate olde rounde carde," &c.

Don Antonio, the "Prior of Crato," one of the pretenders to the crown of Portugal after the death of Henry, in 1580, was

chosen king by the people of that kingdom, but was soon driven off by the superior force of the Spanish power under Philip II., and Portugal became a province of Spain. Don Antonio took refuge in Paris, where Hakluyt often saw him. He also visited England, and obtained some aid in fitting out a fleet against Terceira; and in 1589 he induced the Queen to fit out a naval expedition against Philip, with a view to his reinstatement on the throne of Portugal, in which Drake was one of the commanders. But the object was not accomplished. The career of this illegitimate son of one of the royal family of Portugal is too well known in the history of that period to be dwelt upon here. After spending fifteen years in the vain hope of obtaining effectual assistance in his cause, he died miserably at Paris, in 1595. M. Ferdinand Denis, in his "History of Portugal," p. 295, thus speaks of his parentage:—

"Le prieur de Crato était fils de l'infant don Luiz (et par conséquent petit-fils d'Emmanuel); il l'avait eu de Violante Gomes, surnommée *la Pelicana*—dame humble par la naissance, mais d'une rare beauté, dit Castro, et qui mourut professe dans le monastère d'Almoester." See Froude's *England*, Vol. IX., *passim*; "Revue des Deux Mondes," Jan. 1, 1866, Vol. LXI. p. 68.

Whether "Custodio Etan" was intended to describe an office held by Don Antonio's Secretary, or was a personal name, it is not clear.

PAGE 113.

"*Don Antonio di Castillo, ambassador to her Majestie from Henry the Kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London, the yere before his departure, that one Anus Corteriall,*" &c.

The passage here is substantially the same as that given by Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," though he says there that his informant was a "singularly grave and experienced man of Portugal," without giving his name. Mr. J. Winter Jones, the editor of the "Divers Voyages," for the Hakluyt Society, truly says that "Hakluyt was a man of easy faith, and too apt to repeat accounts as he received them, without stopping to verify or correct them"; and he expresses a regret that he had not

given his authority as to this voyage of Anus Cortereal. The authority is now supplied, and would certainly seem to be sufficient, if Hakluyt's report can be relied on. It will be noticed that the account in this Discourse and that in the "Divers Voyages" differ by one degree as to the latitude reached. In the latter it is fifty-eight degrees. (See Biddle's Cabot, p. 286.)

Don Antonio is described above as ambassador from Henry, King of Portugal. Henry died in 1580, when Portugal came under the yoke of Philip. But the ambassador was still in London in the following year, when Hakluyt saw and conversed with him, and wrote of him as "by office, keeper of the records and monuments of their discoveries," &c. (III. 303.) In the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Eliz. Adden. XXVII. 74, April, 1582, is a letter from Antonio di Castillo to Walsingham, in which he says, "I shall leave to-morrow if the ship sails."

PAGES 113, 114.

"A mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made as yt shoulde seme by Verarsanus . . . nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke."

"An olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster," &c.

In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" he speaks of this map as having been given to King Henry VIII. by Verrazzano. In this Discourse, the map, "made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus," is more particularly described as being "traced all alonge the coast from Florida to Cape Briton with many Italian names"; and the globe, also, which "semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, having the coast described in Italian," &c.

Hakluyt probably had never heard the voyage of Verrazzano called in question. In the chapter in which the map and globe are mentioned, he is pointing out the probability of a "north-west passage to Cathaio and China"; and, among his other authorities, he cites these as having a narrow neck of land, in latitude 40° north, delineated upon them, dividing the two seas. Of course, he cites them on the authority of Verrazzano, not as a compiler of maps, — for that was not his vocation, — but

as a discoverer. The authority must have had that significance in Hakluyt's mind. And Lok, who made his own map in some of its features from "Verarzanus plat," to accompany and illustrate the letter of Verrazzano, must have been satisfied that this "mightie large olde mappe" was made in part to represent that navigator's discoveries.

But what may have been authority to Hakluyt, receiving all the documents relating to Verrazzano as genuine, may not have the same weight with us in discussing a question of fraud.

If this map, or the globe, can in any way be directly connected with Verrazzano himself before his death, one point would be gained. Following this, if it can be shown that either of them was made to indicate the alleged discoveries of Verrazzano, another point would be gained. No one supposes, in this inquiry, that Verrazzano himself attempted to impose a discovery upon the world which he never made, but that the idea and attempt originated with another after his death. Now Hakluyt says, unqualifiedly, that the map, which in 1582 was in the custody of Lok, was presented by Verrazzano to Henry VIII. What evidence the map bore to show this we do not know. This must have been before 1527, if Mr. Murphy is right as to the year of the navigator's death. Now, what was the significance of this gift to the sovereign of England? Is it probable that such a map would have been one compiled throughout from the ordinary sources of information already published to the world? That is to say, would not its most interesting features have consisted in its delineations of some new discoveries? If the map was not made on the authority of Verrazzano, who else could have made it before the year 1526 or 1527? Hakluyt says in this Discourse—and the information is now published for the first time—that this map, presented to the king by Verrazzano, was "traced all along the coast from Florida to Cape Briton with many Italian names," and to him it seemed to have been made by Verrazzano.

If Hakluyt, therefore, is to be relied on, our first point would seem to be made probable; namely, that the map was not only given by Verrazzano to the king, but that it was a map made by him, or on his authority. Secondly, that the map was intended as a memorial of Verrazzano's visit to our coast, would

seem to be made probable, if not historically certain, by the recent discovery of a map in Rome, made by Jerome Verrazzano, a kinsman of the navigator, which bears these indications upon it; which map appears similar to the one Hakluyt describes. Indeed, were it not for the date in the legend on the map in Rome, indicating that it was compiled in 1529, we might conjecture that it was the identical map. Perhaps it was copied from Hakluyt's map. When a more particular description of the map in Rome is published, and it is found to contain Italian names all along our coast, as Hakluyt's map did, the argument will be strengthened.

The want of accuracy in the Verrazzano map, in describing our whole coast line, should not necessarily militate against its genuineness, nor the fact that Hakluyt relied upon his copy as representing discoveries never made by Verrazzano, and never intended to be so understood. It is a map of the world, and therefore principally compiled from foreign sources. It could only represent Verrazzano's discoveries to a certain extent, on our coast: every thing else would be from other authorities, or be laid down by conjecture. The narrow isthmus dividing the two seas, which Hakluyt thought of so much importance, may not have been intended to represent what the navigator himself saw. The latitude of the coast has serious errors, hardly to be explained; but perhaps that isthmus was intended to be south of his landfall. In the map of Agnese, 1536, this isthmus is laid down, and a pricked line, representing the route of "el viages de France" to "Cataia provintia," runs through it; and Dr. Kohl concludes that the existence of such an isthmus was at this time the prevailing opinion in France and Italy. Such may have been the opinion when this map was made, though the representation of the isthmus and the voyages was a fallacy.

If the Carli letter, with the accompanying documents, is a forgery, no connection has yet been traced between its author and the author of the map, also alleged to be a forgery. It becomes necessary to impugn the editorial integrity of Ramusio, and to make him morally a party to the conspiracy.

Mr. Murphy has set up an *alibi* for Verrazzano, which, if fully proved, would render the shedding of any more ink on this question unnecessary. He truly says that "it is impossible for Verrazzano to have been on the coast of North America, or on

his return from Newfoundland to France, and at the same time to have taken a ship on her way from the Indies to Portugal, coming as she must have done by the way of the Cape of Good Hope." (Voyage of Verrazzano, p. 145.) The story, said to have been brought by a courier of the King of Portugal to Spain, is told by Peter Martyr, in a letter from Valladolid, dated 3d of August, 1524, — less than a month after the alleged return of Verrazzano to Dieppe from his voyage of discovery. No date is given as to when the transaction took place, nor where on the ocean the vessel was taken. The identity of "Florin, the French pirate" with Verrazzano would seem to be well established, but the story may have been a mere rumor and not an official report of a well-known fact. If such an act of piracy had taken place, it may have been by a mere suspicion that Verrazzano was connected with it. We hear nothing further of it. Mr. Murphy is quite right in putting in this piece of evidence as a make-weight in the case which he has so skilfully drawn up. If the act alleged could have been established, nothing else, as we have already said, need have been written. Verrazzano could hardly have concluded his voyage of discovery with an episode of this nature.

Mr. Murphy, on the authority of the late Buckingham Smith, has shown that Verrazzano, under the name of Juan Florin, was executed by order of the emperor, near Puerto del Pico, in Spain, 13 Oct. 1527. Of course, the conjecture of Mr. Biddle, that this navigator accompanied the expedition under John Rut, which sailed from Plymouth in June of that year for Norumbega, and that on the coasts of North America he was killed by the natives, as reported also by Ramusio, must be set aside. Rut's only surviving vessel returned home in October of the same year. (Biddle's Cabot, p. 272, *et seq.*; Hakluyt, III. 129; Purchas, III. 809.)

PAGE 114.

"*Gerardus Mercator . . . you write greate matters . . . of the newe voyadge.*"

The extract from the letter of Mercator to his son was also published in "The Epistle Dedicatorie" to the "Divers Voyages," 1582; but it there reads "*nova Frobisheri navigatione*," the reference being to the new discovery of Frobisher.

PAGE 115.

"The relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same."

David Ingram, of Barking, in the county of Essex, was a sailor in one of John Hawkins's slave expeditions, in the year 1567 and 1568. In the month of October, 1568, being on the coast of Mexico during a violent storm which destroyed some of the vessels, he and one hundred and thirteen others were set on shore at "about five leagues to the west of the Rio de Minas." A part of the company, including Myles Phillips, set out toward the west, some of them reaching Mexico. Fifty-three of the number, including David Ingram, went north. If his story is true, he must have travelled the whole length of what is now the United States, on its southern and eastern borders, arriving finally at the head of a river called Garinda, sixty leagues west from Cape Breton, where he and his only two remaining companions embarked in a French ship for New Haven in France, and "from thence they were transferred into England, Anno Dom. 1569." Ingram's "Relation" was published by Hakluyt in his folio of 1589, at pp. 557-62. To the heading there given, the following may be added from a manuscript copy of the "Relation" in the British Museum, Sloane Manuscripts, No. 1447, fol. 1-18; "w^{ch} he reported vnto S^r Fraunceys Walsinghū, Knight, and diuers others of good judgment and credit, in August and Septembar, A^o Dñi, 1582."

Ingram's narrative is here cited as evidence of the existence of the long-sought passage through to the Pacific. His description of the country through which he passed, with his account of the manners and customs of the natives, &c., has all the air of a romance or fiction; and it is somewhat significant that Hakluyt, who is rarely critical in accepting statements of travellers, omits the narrative in his larger work. And Purchas, in his account of the voyages of Hawkins, Drake, and others to divers parts of America, says (IV. 1179), "As for David Ingram's perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt, in his first edition, published the same; but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leaue him out in the

next impression, the reward of lying being not to be beleueed in truths." Ingram was examined by Walsingham and others at the time the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of the following year, 1583, was in preparation, at which time his story was reduced to writing. He may have traversed the country from the point in Mexico where he was put on shore to the coast of Maine, in which case he and his companions are the first Englishmen of whom we have any record who placed their feet on the soil of New England; unless, according to the conjecture of Dr. Kohl, those on board the *Mary of Guilford*, in Rut's expedition, in 1527, are entitled to that honor. For his description of what he saw in his travels he must have drawn largely on his imagination. He mentions among other places "Norumbega," but affords no intelligible information as to its location.

The relation of Ingram was published in "Documents connected with the history of South Carolina, Edited by Plowden Charles Gennett Weston, and printed for private distribution only, London, 1856," from the manuscript in the British Museum, the editor evidently not being aware that it had been previously published by Hakluyt.

PAGES 118, 119.

"Maddock ap Owen Guyneth . . . the booke sett furthe this yere . . . dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney."

The title of this book published the year Hakluyt wrote this Discourse is, "The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales: a part of the most famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language aboue two hundrdth yeaes past. Translated into English by H. Lhoyd, Gentleman. Corrected, augmented, and continued out of records and best approoued authors by Dauid Powel, Doctor in Diuinitie. Cvm Priuilegio, 1584." 4to.

It is dedicated "To the Right worshipfull Sir Philip Sidney, Knight." Hakluyt made a slip of the pen when he wrote "Henry Sidney," who was the father of Philip. This work was originally written by Caradoc of Lhancarvan, in the Welsh language. It has been several times reprinted.

The story of the voyage of "Maddock," taken out of this book,

was published in Hakluyt's folio of 1589, p. 506, and in his larger work, III. 1.

PAGES 119, 120.

"The historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the relation of the life and doinges of his father."

Fernando Columbus was the second son of the Admiral. His mother was Doña Beatrix Enriquez, to whom it is generally supposed his father was never married. Becoming a man of letters, he collected at Seville a library of more than twenty thousand volumes, in print and in manuscript. He wrote a Life of the Admiral, which, notwithstanding its errors, Irving pronounces "the corner-stone of the history of the American Continent." This work, so far as is known, was never published in the original Spanish in which it was composed, but was translated into Italian by Alfonso Villoa, and published at Venice in 1571, thirty-two years after the death of the author. The original manuscript is not known to be extant, and the work only exists in Spanish in the form of a retranslation from that of Villoa. In 1872, a book was published in Paris, under the title "Fernand Colomb, sa Vie, ses Œuvres. Essai Critique, par l'auteur de la Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima" (Mr. Harris), issued in Spanish in 1871, in which the writer contends that Fernando Columbus was not the author of this Life of the Admiral, that it was not originally composed in Spanish, but in the language in which it was first published. This book was reviewed, and its positions controverted, by the late learned M. D'Avezac, in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris," October and November, 1873, in which Bulletin a rejoinder subsequently appeared by the author of the essay.

This Life of the Admiral was translated into English, and published in Churchill's "Collection of Voyages and Travels," London, 1704, II. 559-688.

PAGES 122, 126, 128.

"A very greate and large parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, was firste discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the

sonne of John Gabote, a Venesian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496," &c.

"But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496, as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the cotype whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London.

"Yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them, to witt, 1496, or, as Clement Adams saieth, 1494, in the chapiter of Gabotts mapp De terra nova," &c.

Hakluyt, in these passages, is setting forth the claim of England to the prior discovery of the continent of the New World, and he cites the earliest dates he finds recorded. That of 1496 he finds in the conversation reported by Ramusio. The manner in which he refers to the date on a copy of Adams's edition of Cabot's map shows that he has but little confidence in that date. He seems to throw it in for what it is worth, without analyzing the various conflicting authorities before him, including those previously cited in his "Divers Voyages," published two years before, and more largely in his later volumes; while one should bear in mind that here, and in all his later works, he never speaks of but one voyage. We refrain here from pursuing a discussion as to the year of the Cabots' discovery, or of the conflicting claims of the father and the son, and will only express an opinion that the recent publication from the Venetian and Spanish archives has settled the question, if there had previously been any doubt upon it, that 1497 is the true date, and that to John Cabot is due the honor of the discovery. Considerable discussion has also appeared within a few years relative to a map, supposed to be that of Sebastian Cabot, in the Imperial Library in Paris, procured in 1844; more especially since the publication of M. Jomard's copy of it in his "Monuments de la Géographie." (See Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc. for April, 1867; Dr. Asher's "Henry Hudson"; Dr. Kohl and M. D'Avezac, in Vol. I. "Documentary History of Maine.") In Hakluyt's folio of 1589, five years

after this Discourse was written, he cites, among the authorities for Cabot's voyage, "An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discoverie of the West Indias, which is to be seene in her Majesties Priuie Gallerie at Westminster, and in many other auncient merchants houses." Then comes the well-known "extract" in Latin, followed by Hakluyt's English version. The heading is a little equivocal in its language; but Hakluyt undoubtedly meant to say that the map in the Queen's privy gallery was Clement Adams's map, copied from that of Cabot. But, in the passage above cited from this Discourse, Hakluyt clearly says that Cabot's "owne mappe" is in the Queen's privy gallery, and that Adams's copies of it were to be seen in many merchants' houses. But this must be regarded as another instance of Hakluyt's loose way of writing. If Cabot's original map had been, in Hakluyt's time, hanging in the gallery at Whitehall, he certainly would have consulted it, and referred to it here and in his later publications, in preference to a copy. Besides, the manner in which he refers, on page 128, to Adams's *copy*, for an important date, shows clearly that the original was not accessible to him.

We will also refer, in passing, to the sad work which Purchas makes (III. 807), in describing this map in his Majesty's privy gallery, which "some say," he notes in the margin, "was taken out of Sir Seb. Cabot's map by Clem. Adams 1549." He speaks of it as "the great map in his Majesties priuie Gallerie, of which *Sebastian Cabot* is often therein called the Author, and his picture is therein drawne, with this Title, *Effigies Sebast. Caboti Angli, filij Io. Ca. Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c.*" And in Vol. IV. p. 1812, in discussing the year of Cabot's discovery, he says, "The map with his picture in the Priuy Gallery hath 1497." Unless we are to suppose that Clement Adams's edition of Cabot's map had Cabot's picture drawn in it, we must suppose that Purchas has here confusedly, or from wrong information, described the map, in connection with a well-known portrait of Cabot, for a long time erroneously supposed to have been painted by Holbein, then in the king's privy gallery at Whitehall, with the inscription upon it, which he has given in an abbreviated form. There is, however, no date of the year of the discovery on the picture; and, if Purchas

had ever examined the map, he would have seen that the year there given is 1494. The truth is, that Purchas (III. 807) is here copying out of the third volume of Hakluyt's larger work; and he adopts the date there of 1497, perhaps without knowing that the folio of 1589 gave the date 1494, which was the date on the map cited by Hakluyt.

From this Discourse, at page 128, we now know with certainty that Adams's *copy* of Cabot's map bore the date 1494 on it, agreeing with the date given in the inscription on the map in the Imperial Library, and that Hakluyt copied it correctly into his folio of 1589. Dr. Asher, in his "Henry Hudson," page lxxviii., unjustly says that "Adams deliberately alters the date from 1494 to 1497." Asher had never consulted Hakluyt's folio of 1589, and had only seen his later work, in which the date is altered from 1494 to 1497. As Hakluyt gave no authority for this alteration, made in 1600, M. D'Avezac thinks this latter date a typographical error. No copy of Adams's map is known to be in existence, neither do we know the year it was made. In the citation from the margin of Purchas (III. 807), quoted above, the date "1549" is given at the close. Whether this is intended to refer to the year in which Adams's copy was made, or to the date of the map he copied from, is uncertain. There are supposed to have been at least two editions of Cabot's original map. The one referred to, in the Imperial Library, bears date 1544; that is to say, that is the year given in section xvii. of the *legends* on it. In a copy seen by Chytræus, at Oxford, and from which he has copied the inscriptions, in his "*Variorvm in Evropa Itinervm Deliciæ*," first published in 1594, the date 1549 is given in that section.

We have called these two maps Cabot's "original maps"; but we do not forget that Dr. Kohl, in his analysis of the map in Paris, has serious doubts of its being made by Cabot ("Documentary History of Maine," Vol. I. pp. 358-371). The writer of this note had previously expressed his doubts as to the *inscriptions* being all written by Cabot, after he had consulted the Paris map in 1866. ("Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe Monde*," Cambridge, 1867.)

There is yet a mystery hanging over Clement Adams's edition of Cabot's map. The map in the Imperial Library contains on

its margins the inscriptions, or *legends*, referred to, both in Spanish and in Latin. In Hakluyt's quotation from Adams's copy (which corresponds to Section VIII., of the map in Paris), to which he appears to give a heading of his own, the Latin legend is different from that on the Paris map and from that described by Chytræus. The substance is nearly the same, but the variations in the language would indicate perhaps different translations from one Spanish original. Did Adams transcribe from still another copy of Cabot's map yet to be discovered, or did he make a new version of the Latin himself? This latter would certainly be a useless and an unauthorized proceeding. Clement Adams was probably not living at the time Hakluyt was writing this Discourse. Eden (*Decades*, 1555, fol. 256) speaks of him as "that lerned young man . . . scole mayster to the Queenes henshemen," and as having "written largely and faythfully in the Laten tonge." Richard Chancellor's account of his voyage toward Cathai; of which Hakluyt published a translation in his larger work (I. 243 *et seq.*).

Hakluyt here speaks of Sebastian Cabot as an Englishman, born in Bristol. The evidence of this has seemed to be satisfactory, on the authority of Cabot himself, as furnished by Eden (*Decades*, 255) in a well-known marginal note. But M. D'Avezac has shewn conclusively that he was born in Venice. (See *Doc. Hist. of Maine*, Vol. I. p. 505.)

Since the above was written, some years ago, there has appeared a memoir by Mr. Richard Henry Major, a high authority, entitled "The True Date of the English Discovery of the American Continent under John and Sebastian Cabot," communicated to the *Archæologia*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 17-42, 1870. In this paper, Mr. Major, with his usual ability, discusses the question of the Cabot map, and the different views of Dr. Kohl and M. D'Avezac respecting it, in Vol. I. of "Documentary History of Maine"; and the conclusion to which he has arrived is, that Sebastian Cabot originally drew a map, with *legends*, or inscriptions, upon it, in Spanish only, and that the date of the discovery, 1497, was there expressed in Roman capitals; that the letter V in the numerals VII. was carelessly drawn, and not well joined at the base, so that a reader might well take it

for II; that this might more easily occur in a manuscript, especially on parchment, than on an engraved map on paper; that this manuscript map of Cabot was copied and engraved by others; that the map in the National Library in Paris was one of those copies, the Latin inscriptions upon it being added by the compiler of that map, some of which had no Spanish originals on the manuscript map of Cabot; and that the copyist erred, for reasons given above, in inserting the year of discovery as 1494, in Section VIII. of the inscriptions. So also of the copy made by Clement Adams from the Spanish original, which Hakluyt used. He made an independent translation of the inscriptions into Latin, which accounts for the two Latin versions, and also made the same error, for the same reason, in giving the date of discovery 1494, instead of 1497. We will add here that some hints towards the same explanation offered above, as to the alleged error in the copies taken from Cabot's map, were suggested to the writer personally by his friend, Mr. Henry Stevens, some years ago, and they are briefly stated by Mr. Stevens in a little book, entitled "Sebastian Cabot — John Cabot . . . Boston, March, 1870," p. 13.

As evidence that the Paris map, which Dr. Kohl thinks was made in Germany, or Belgium, was copied from a Spanish manuscript map, Mr. Major cites the instance of the name Laguna de Nicaragua being rendered into "Laguna de Nicaxagoe." Instead of an *r* there is an *x*. The Spanish manuscript *r* being in the form of our northern *x*, the transcriber showed his ignorance by substituting the one letter for the other.

PAGE 123.

"These be the very wordes of this gent, which he uttered to certen noblemen of Venice," &c.

This translation of Ramusio's report of the conversation at the house of Fracastor, in Venice, is different from that subsequently inserted by Hakluyt into his folio of 1589, at pp. 512-13, which was taken from Eden, fol. 255. The words "as far as I remember," preceding the date "1496," in this latter version, and retained by Hakluyt, furnished one of the occasions for Mr. Biddle's onslaught on our author.

It may well be an object of surprise that so much importance should have been attached to a conversation, coming by a route so circuitous, as to its affording any definite historical data. Its value cannot rise much above that of tradition. The story comes through two persons, a long time occurring before the first repetition of it; the original narrator being Sebastian Cabot. It is difficult to see on what authority Eden, whom Hakluyt follows, connects Butrigarius with this conversation. Ramusio does not mention his name. He reports what was said a few years before at the house of Fracastor, by a certain learned man, not named, who relates an interview he had formerly had with Cabot.

The conversation took place between 1548 (the year in which the work of Jacobus Tevius, mentioned by the principal interlocutor, was issued) and its publication in the first volume of Ramusio. That volume was first published in 1550. We have never seen a copy of it, and do not know if this *Discorso* was inserted in it. But it certainly was printed in the second edition of that volume, published in 1554. Eden inserted an English translation of part of it, in his "Decades," in the following year. Galeatius Butrigarius, of Bologna, was the Pope's legate in Spain, more than thirty-five years before this conversation took place. Peter Martyr, in beginning his second Decade, addressed to Pope Leo, written in 1513 or 1514, speaks of having met Butrigarius in Spain, and being much in his company.

That part of this same conversation, on pp. 115 and 116 of our Discourse, is also not from Eden's version, who, by the way, has omitted a large part of the "Discorso sopra li Viaggi delle Spetierie," in Ramusio, Vol. I. pp. 371-375.

PAGE 125.

"*Ferdinandus Columbus . . . which was with his father in the [third] voyage.*"

Oviedo makes this statement, as Hakluyt truly asserts, but Ferdinand was then a child, only ten or eleven years old, and was a page at court. He, however, accompanied his father on his fourth voyage, in 1502, when he was fourteen or fifteen years old.

PAGE 127.

"Gomara."

This writer, so often quoted in this Discourse, was born at Seville in 1510, and was for some time professor of Rhetoric at Alcalá. He resided for a period in Italy, and enlarged his knowledge beyond that of his contemporaries by acquaintance with distinguished men of the time. On the return of Cortes to Spain, Gomara became his Secretary, and on his patron's death continued in the service of his son. At this time, he wrote his Chronicle of the Conquest of Mexico, from information largely gathered from the conqueror. This work and his General History of the Indies were published in 1652-53, at Saragossa. They have been often reprinted, and have been translated into Italian and French, and the former into English. For an estimate of his writings, see Prescott's Histories of Mexico and Peru and Ticknor's Spanish Literature. The various editions of the two Histories are enumerated by Bartlett, in his luxurious catalogue of books in the John Carter Brown Library, so rich in works relating to North and South America. See also Brunet.

PAGE 127.

"*Franciscus Lopez de Gomara, in the 4 chapter of his seconde booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies,*" &c.

The passage quoted from Gomara is in Cap. XXXIX. of the Spanish original. A French version by Fumée had been published in 1569, and in this the matter is distributed into Books. Hakluyt made his English version of this passage from that, and it is the same which he subsequently incorporated into his folio of 1589, at page 514. There is a singular rendering of one sentence, in which he says that Cabot "took the way towards Island [Iceland] from beyond the Cape of Labrador," &c. Even the French version does not authorize such a translation. The original Spanish reads, "camino la buelta de Islandia sobre cobo del Labrador," which Eden, with whom Hakluyt was familiar, renders, he "directed his course by the tracte of Islande vppon the cape of Laborador," &c. (fol. 318; Biddle's

Cabot, pp. 20, 21; La Historia General de las Indias, ed. of 1554, fol. 31.) See note on Fumée's version, pp. 236, 237.

On the same page of this Discourse is a citation from the same author, where he gives the erroneous date of 1497, instead of 1498, as the year in which Columbus sailed on his third voyage.

PAGE 128.

"The discovery of John Ponce of Leon, being in anno 1512."

Most writers, from Hakluyt's time to our own day, have given the above-named year as that of Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida. The true date is 1513. The error probably occurred by not noting the variation which prevailed in the mode of reckoning time. This navigator sailed from Porto Rico 3d March, and discovered the land of Florida on the 27th of the same month.

It should not be forgotten that there are some indications that this peninsula was seen a few years before by other navigators. On Peter Martyr's map, printed at Seville in 1511, "isla de beimeni" is inscribed on land situated near where Florida should be. "Bimina" is a name which one or more small islands of the Bahama group now bears. (Stevens's Hist. and Geogr. notes, p. 36, and Martyr's map; Brevoort's Verrazano the Navigator, p. 69; Kohl, Doc. Hist. of Maine, I. 240).

On page 22 of our Discourse, Hakluyt speaks of the voyage of Gomez to our coasts as taking place in the same year as that of Verrazano, 1524. Gomez sailed in February, 1525, reckoning the year as beginning January 1.

PAGE 137.

"In the space of $\frac{xx}{iii}$ and xij yerres."

That is, "in the space of 4 times 20 and 12 years," or 92 years from the time he is writing (1584), which gives the date 1492.

PAGE 141.

"Which division, howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor, simple childe," &c.

The incident here related from Gomara, which Hakluyt renders from the French of Fumée, and which Eden, fol. 242, translates from the Spanish, belongs to the year 1524, at the assembling of the Congress of Badajos. The following summary of the points discussed in that assembly, by the learned editor of the Hakluyt Society's edition of the "*Divers Voyages*," is taken from pp. 47, 48 of that work. After the treaty of Tordissillas, vexed questions constantly arose between the two powers, owing in part to later discoveries, and to the alleged impracticability of settling the terms of that agreement.

"In the year 1524, a serious effort was made to settle these differences; and commissioners from both crowns met at the boundary between Badajoz and Yelves. It had been previously agreed [by the treaty of Tordesillas, 1494] that the Portuguese should be allowed the three hundred and seventy leagues, . . . and the points to be discussed were — 1. Upon what medium the line of demarcation should be made, whether upon the marine chart or upon the spherical map; 2. How they should fix the proper situation of the Cape Verde Islands; and, 3. From which of the Cape Verde Islands they should commence the measurement of the three hundred and seventy leagues, for the line of demarcation. Difficulties immediately arose. There was found to be a difference of seventy leagues between the situation of places as laid down in the maps produced by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Again, the Portuguese wished to measure the three hundred and seventy leagues from La Sal, the most eastern of the Cape Verde Islands; the Spaniards, from San Antonio, the most western: the distance between the two being not less than seventy leagues. The Portuguese rejected both the marine charts and maps of the Spaniards, and endeavored to confine the inquiry to the question
 • of actual possession of the Spice Islands; the Spanish commissioners, on the other hand, insisted upon fixing the line of demarcation, affirming that the line of partition for the three hundred

and seventy leagues must commence at the Island of San Antonio, and that the Maluccas, Sumatra, Malacca, the Philippine Islands, and also China, fell within the line of demarcation for Castille, by many degrees, and that their situation was not in the longitude affirmed by the Portuguese. In the midst of these discussions, the term for which the commission was appointed expired, and the commissioners ultimately came to the decision that they could decide nothing; and, not knowing what better to do, left the matter to be settled by their respective sovereigns.—Herrera, *Historia de la Espana*, tom. i. Descripcion, p. 2, Dec. III., lib. vi. Cap. 3-8; Navarrete, *Collec-cion*, tom. iv. p. 310 *et seq.*"

PAGES 138, 142.

"*The Bull was graunted in the yere 1493, the iiijth of the moneth of May.*"

"*In which repetition of his donation the seconde time,*" &c.

What is known as the bull of "concession" was dated the 3d of May ("quinto nonas Maii"), 1493, and the bull of "partition," the more famous one, was dated the following day, the 4th of May ("quarto nonas Maii"). On the differences between these two papal mandates (including also a notice of the bull of "extension," of the 25th of September of the same year), see Humboldt's "Examen. crit." III. 52-54; also "Cosmos," II. 655-658, ed. Bohn. Both these bulls may be seen in "Navarrete," II. 23-35. That of the 4th of May is in Gomara, "La Historia," Cap. XIX., and also in Eden, "Decades," fol. 167-70, followed by an English version; and a more exact rendering may be seen in Spotorno's "Memorials of Columbus" (English ed.), Doc. xxxviii. The two bulls are literally the same in the first half; after which, in the second bull, the divergence begins where the line of demarcation is first laid down. Irving, in his "Life and Voyages of Columbus," Chap. VIII., and Jones, in his edition of the "Divers Voyages" (Hakluyt Society), p. 42, refer to these bulls as dated the 2d and 3d of May. The dates in the *nones* of the Roman Calendar are given above. There were really two bulls of "concession"

issued on the 3d of May. One of these, much more brief than the other, is published in Raynaldus's continuation of Baronius, IX. 213, 214. See also Spotorno, as above, p. lxvii.

The bull of "concession" ceded "to the Spanish sovereigns the same rights, privileges, and indulgences, in respect to the newly discovered regions, as had been accorded to the Portuguese with regard to their African discoveries, under the same condition of planting the Catholic faith." But, in order to guard against any conflicting claims between these two powers, the bull of "partition," on the following day, was issued, "containing the famous line of demarcation, by which their territories were thought to be permanently defined. This was an ideal line drawn from the north to the south pole, one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands. All land discovered by the Spanish navigators to the west of this line, and which had not been taken possession of by any Christian power before the preceding Christmas, was to belong to the Spanish crown." (Irving, Book V. Chap. VIII.) Portugal is not mentioned in this last document, but a reservation in her favor of all land discovered in the contrary direction is understood to be implied in it.

The Portuguese were dissatisfied with this division, as they did not think it equitable to be obliged "to confine their navigation on the wide ocean to such narrow bounds, which prevented their ships from sailing a hundred leagues westward of their possessions." (Munoz, B. IV., section 28.) The Cape of Good Hope had not then been circumnavigated. But all appeals to the Pope for a revision of his partition in their favor were without effect. Finally, in the following year, on the 7th of June, 1494, the famous treaty between the two powers, known as the "Capitulation of Tordesillas," was ratified. Its purpose was to secure to Portugal all that might be discovered within a line of demarcation to be drawn from the north to the south at three hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the islands of Cape de Verde. (Ibid.)

The history of the struggles between the Spaniards and the Portuguese relative to the new discoveries, and of the agreements and negotiations respecting the same, since the establishment of the line of demarcation by the Pope, shows how little regard

was paid to the authority by which that line was drawn. Of course any "concessions" from that source would be accepted by the party in whose favor they were made for what they were worth. Its moral support was something. But we have seen that the Portuguese early rebelled against the original partition, and it was set aside by the treaty of Tordesillas. In process of time, it became evident that the sole reliance of the powers must be in their own skill in maritime art, and in their ability to maintain their rights by force, or by successful negotiation. When the Spanish sovereigns first sought the sanction of the Pope to their claims, they intimated to him that they had been advised by learned men that their title to the newly discovered lands did not require his sanction, but, as pious princes and loyal subjects of the papal power, they asked for the concession. Thus early we see the foreshadowing of a theory which finally became incorporated into the law of nations, viz., "that discovery (of heathen countries, or of unoccupied lands) gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession." (Chief Justice Marshall, in *Johnson and Graham v. McIntosh*.)

The other great powers of Europe, including France, which had little respect for the Pope's donation, and England, which derided it, becoming interested in Western discoveries, it became necessary, to prevent collision, to establish some rule of general recognition. "The King of France sent word to our great emperor," writes Bernal Diaz, in relating the incidents of the capture of some Spanish treasure-ships by Juan Florin, the French corsair, "that as he and the King of Portugal had divided the world between themselves, without offering him any part of it, he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of these countries. As long as they refused to comply with this, he would consider himself justified to possess himself of every thing he could on the high seas." *Historia Verdadera*, 1632, fol. 161, and Lockhart's tr. II. 135.

After it had become known that the new lands were not the eastern coast of Asia, and did not consist wholly of islands,

but were substantially a large unbroken continent, questions would naturally arise as to how much of this great territory one power could lay claim to by the landing of a few of its sailors upon the coast, and setting up there the arms of the sovereign.

This became a practical question, that had finally to be settled by the common sense of the civilized world; and, though the strongest power usually gave the law for the time in all questions involving international claims, the parties interested were so numerous that it became essential that all should unite on some equitable principle of agreement. It was regarded as preposterous that the mere discovery of a small part of a great continent should give a claim to the whole; and it also seemed unreasonable that a mere discovery should constitute a claim, with no intention of taking possession, for colonization or settlement. Spain continued for many years the leading power in Europe, and her claims were unbounded. Those which were based on discovery and settlement were unquestionable. Besides her settlements in the West India islands, she established colonies on the north and west coasts of South America, and on the coast of lower California. In 1577, Sir Francis Drake sailed on his voyage round the world. He entered the Pacific through the Straits of Magellan, and, following the coast to the north, pillaged the Spanish ships moored in the harbors along the shore. Fearing to return the way he came, with his large treasure, he still went north, in hopes of finding a passage through to the Atlantic corresponding to that by which he came, in which he was disappointed. Entering a harbor in latitude 38° , or $38^{\circ} 30' N.$, he there took possession of the coast in the name of her Majesty, and called it "New Albion." He returned home by way of the Pacific, and completed the circumnavigation of the globe. Arriving in England in 1580, the Spanish minister protested against the conduct of Drake. The two countries were then at peace. He demanded that the ill-gotten treasure should be restored, and contended, likewise, that the English were infringing the Spanish claim by sailing in those seas.

The English government, in their answer to the latter claim, made this important declaration, namely, that they could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by

donation from the Pope, or from their having touched here and there upon those coasts, built cottages, and given names to a few places; that this, by the Law of Nations, could not hinder other princes from freely navigating those seas, and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit; that prescription without possession availed nothing. (Camden's History of Elizabeth, English translation, 1688, p. 255; Purchas, IV. 1180, 1181.)

We here see the principle contended for by England, who was soon to enter upon her career of colonization in the new world. This was four years before Hakluyt penned this Discourse, in which he is urging the government to take possession of the unoccupied wastes, and colonize. And the same plea he had made two years before, in the dedication of his "Divers Voyages."

PAGE 139.

"But moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, and for certeine secrete causes," &c.

We have not been able to find in the Pope's bull, either in that of concession or of partition, any language or phrase of which this last clause cited is an equivalent; nothing like the act being inspired by "seeret causes." The language of the original in both these instruments is, "Sed de nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa scientia," &c.; literally, "but of our own mere liberality and certain science," or *knowledge*. The same or similar language is generally used by sovereigns in making grants to their subjects, and appears in nearly all our royal charters for settlements in North America. In Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Patent of 1578, the Queen proceeds, "Know ye that of our special grace, certain science and meer motion, we have given and granted," &c. (Navarrete, II. 25, 32; Hakluyt, III. 135.)

But Hakluyt evidently had before him, when he wrote this chapter, the imperfect French translation of Gomara's General History, by Fumée, in which the bull of partition is given, who thus renders this passage: "mais suelement esmeuz par nostre pure, et fraîche liberalité, et pour quelques secrettes causes," &c.,

of which Hakluyt gives the English version at the head of this note. If he had consulted the Spanish Gomara, or Richard Eden's Decades, who both give the bull in Latin, and the latter an English version of it, he would have been spared the writing of a number of pages of this chapter. In the Italian translation of Gomara's General History, awkwardly published as the second part of Cieza, by Giordan Ziletti, in Venice, in 1565, this particular passage reads correctly thus: "ma di nostra liberalità, et per certa scientia," &c. (Fumée, as above, ed. 1606, fols. 27, 28; Ziletti's Gomara, as above, fol. 28.)

Fumée's translation was first published in 1569, issued by two publishers, under different title-pages. A fifth edition of it appeared in 1584, in the preface to which the translator says that the first edition of the work was so hastily or badly executed that he thought it would have fallen still-born from the press; but, having learned to his surprise that it had reached the fourth edition, he took pity upon it and corrected it as far as in his power. On the title-page of the fifth edition is added: "Augmentee en ceste cinquieme edition de la description de la nouvelle Espagne, et de la grande ville de Mexicque, autrement nommee Tenuctilan." Accordingly we find, included in the "Livre Second," and forming the larger part of that book, a *résumé* of Gomara's "Historia de Mexico," or Life of Cortes, enlarging this fifth edition by more than one quarter. The work of Fumée, in all the editions, is a wretched affair.

PAGE 144.

"Which moste injuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa," &c.

The orthography here given of the name of "the last of the Incas" is that of the French and Italian versions of Gomara. Gomara spells it "Atabaliba"; and it is so spelled by Benzoni. This last author is cited in this Discourse, pp. 61 and 146, as "Peter Benzo of Milan." The story here told of the interview between Atahualpa and Fray Vincent, and the capture of the former by the Spaniards, is probably taken from Gomara, who gives a full narrative of these events. A similar account is in Benzoni's "La Historia del Mondo Nvovo," pub-

lished in 1565, who also may have copied it from that author. (See the Hakluyt Society's edition of this last-named work, pp. 182, 183, 253.) The admirable history of the Conquest of Peru by our countryman, Mr. Prescott, leaves nothing further to be desired as to a complete narrative of that event, illustrated as it is by hitherto unpublished manuscripts.

PAGE 148.

"Wherefore did he not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmarke for suffringe his subjecte, John Scolno, a Dane, in the yere 1500 to seke the Straighte by the northweste, of whome Gemma Frisius, and Hieronymo Girava, a Spaniarde, make mention?"

Hakluyt errs here in giving 1500 as the year of the alleged voyage of John Scolnus, or, more correctly, John of Kolno, a Pole, in the service of the King of Denmark. He evidently took the account of the voyage from Gomara (*Historia*, Cap. XXXVII.), where the author gives no date. But he had just previously been speaking of the voyage of Gasper Corterial, in the year 1500, and Hakluyt inferred that the same date was intended for the voyage of Scolnus. Gomara says, "Tambien han y do alla hombres de Noruega conel Piloto Juan Scoluo." But Hakluyt says that mention is made of this voyage by Gemma Frisius and by Hieronimo Girava. The *Cosmographia* of the latter was published at Milan, in 1556. The former wrote "*De Principiis Astronomiæ & Cosmographiæ, de usu Globi*," &c., published at Antwerp, in 1530. There was an edition of his cosmography, &c., in French, published at Paris, in 1556. Gemma Frisius (Reinerus) was a pupil of Apianus, and edited his writings. (See "*Divers Voyages*," Hak. Soc., xlv.; Brunet; Catal. Lib. J. C. Brown; HARRISSE'S *Bibl. Amer.*) Dr. Kohl says that Gomara is the first to briefly mention this adventure of Scolnus, but that Wytfliet, 1597, describes the voyage more fully, giving the year 1476, and saying that he sailed beyond Norway, Frisland, and Greenland, entered the Arctic Strait, and came to Labrador and Estotiland; yet for all this he gives no authority. (*Doc. Hist. State of Maine*, Vol. I. p. 114.)

PAGE 159.

"*The Symerons.*"

The writer of the account of Drake's voyage to "Nombre de Dios," in 1572, described the Symerons as "a blacke people, which, about eightie yeeres past, fled from the Spaniards, their masters, by reason of their crueltie, and are since growne to an nation, vnder two kings of their owne: the one inhabiteth to the West, th'other to the East of the way from Nombre de Dios to Panama, which had nere surprised it about sixe weekes before" their arrival. (Sir Francis Drake Reuiued, p. 7.) They probably corresponded to the "Maroons" of the West India Islands. Drake made friends with these people for the purpose of employing them against the Spaniards in that neighborhood.

[The following note was accidentally omitted to be inserted in its place, at page 211.]

PAGES 10, 77-80.

"*The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis) have established in the West Indies three archebisshopricks,*" &c.

The last edition of this work which had been published at the time Hakluyt is here writing is probably that of 1576, at Cologne. The writer, Hieronymus Osorius, was a celebrated Portuguese bishop, born in 1506, and died in 1580. From the purity which he attained in his various Latin compositions, he was called the Cicero of Portugal. A Latin Essay of his, on Glory, was written so much after the style of that author, "that some haue not scrupled to assert that the treatise itself is the lost work of Cicero." His best-known work is the one referred to by Hakluyt, "The History of Portugal," of which an English translation by James Gibbs was published in 1752, but without the preface. (See Brunet's "Manual"; Retrospective Rev., I. 322.)

The passage referred to by Hakluyt, in the preface to Osorius, written by Johannes Metellus Sequanus, is given on pp. 77-80 of this Discourse, and a translation of the same here follows:—

“To make clear once for all the cause of the frequent attempts at revolution, and the seditions so pertinaciously excited by the Indians against the Spaniards; to show the reason of the two great heads of the Christian State in approving in the most solemn manner of the freedom of the Indian nation, notwithstanding the murmurs of many and the undoubted dislike of the Spanish soldiery, I will describe in few words the cruelty of these new masters towards the miserable people, their insatiable avarice, and the grave tumult arising from these causes, whereby the devastation of almost all the new world, a thing never to be sufficiently deplored, was brought about.

“In the first place, it was the custom, from a very bad example forsooth, of most of the Spanish soldiers, as is proved by eye-witnesses and others worthy of credit, to punish their slaves in the severest manner if they did not bring in their daily wages, or perform the daily task in digging gold or silver, or if they were guilty of any lesser fault. When they returned in the evening, instead of their supper, they were first stripped of their garments, then bound hand and foot on crossed poles, and beaten most direly with lash or buffalo thongs. Then they were sprinkled, drop by drop, with pitch or boiling oil; their bodies afterwards washed in salt water, and left on their rack as long as it was thought possible they could bear their pain. This method of punishing is said to have been familiar to their masters, even in the case of Christian slaves at home. After a torture of this kind, if the master happened to be a harsh one, they were left buried alive up to the neck for the whole night, the master asserting in jest that this was the best medicine for their wounds. If any died of the suffering, which happened not rarely, the master was freed from the penalty of homicide by furnishing the king with a slave in the place of each one killed. This cruelty is by some excused by what they call the law of Baiona.* But it seems justly impious as devoid of all

* “The law of Baiona.” “This alludes,” says the translator of Benzonei for the Hakluyt Society, p. 94, “to the plausible but unjust and inhuman

charity. Wherefore it has been rightly called diabolical by the Indians. Some persons have been induced to show this cruelty towards the poor Indian by a certain inborn natural harshness, fed by many wars, but avarice has been with most the cause of it. Hence from the very discovery of the new world, the Spanish soldiers began to hunt men, as birds or wild game. Those natives captured in war, they either cast into slavery, or obtained large sums of money by selling, or sent them out to daily labor, the pay for which was exacted in the most importune manner. There were those who sold their slaves to the mines, in which many myriads, broken down by the unusual labor, perished. Others exchanged their slaves for merchandise, or disposed of them in other ways. And some did these things so mercilessly and avariciously, that altogether forgetting Christian humanity, they transported in ships to the neighboring islands people of both sexes, without regard to age or health, snatched from the continent. Not a few of them, unaccustomed to the sea, confined in the holds of the vessels, perished cruelly from hunger, filth, and squalor. Nay! how many women, pregnant by the Spanish, have been sold into slavery with their innocent progeny."

The following is the concluding passage from this author, on page 80:—

"And by these means some of the soldiers have attained to great estate; some obtained great dignity at home and abroad; some so increased their flocks at the expense of many others, that there have been found those who possessed eight thousand head. This so manifest injustice and tyranny of our men could not exist without giving rise at once to great commotions and wars; at times among themselves, and often undertaken by the natives against them."

code, promulgated at Burgos, in 1512, by which the employment of Indians in the mines was insisted upon." Purchas says the law was devised "by some cruel divell."



Fold-out Placeholder

This fold-out is being digitized, and will be inserted at a future date.

I N D E X.

THE Index to this volume was made by my friend Mr. GEORGE DEXTER, of Cambridge ; and I wish to add, that, to his excellent taste, judgment, and scholarship, I have been often indebted while the volume was preparing for the press.

C. D.

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